THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

VOL. CXXXVIII, No. 5 MAY, 1958

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Published monthly by The Catholic University of America Press, Washington 17, D. C. Subscription price in U. S. currency or equivalent: United States, Canada, $5.00; Foreign, $5.00; 50 cents per copy.

Entered as second class matter, November 30, 1944, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Accepted for mailing at the special rate of postage provided for under Act of March 5, 1930, under Act of February 28, 1925

Business communications, including subscriptions and changes of address, should be addressed to The American Ecclesiastical Review, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington 17, D. C.

Please address all manuscripts and editorial correspondence to The Editor, The American Ecclesiastical Review, The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.

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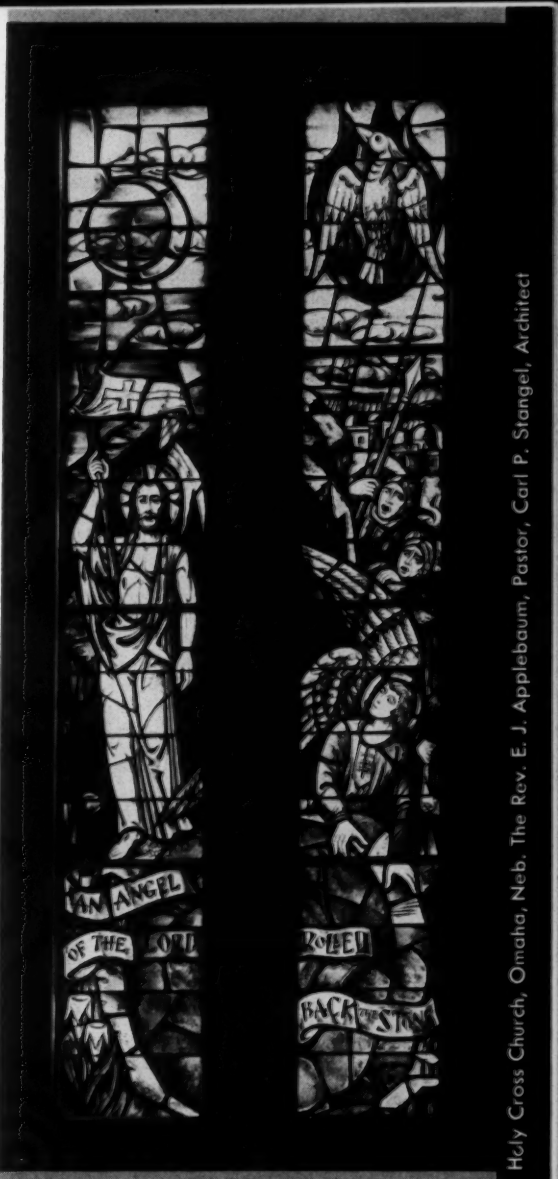

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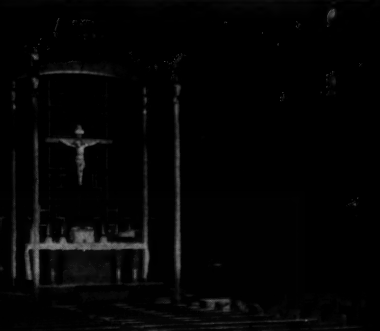

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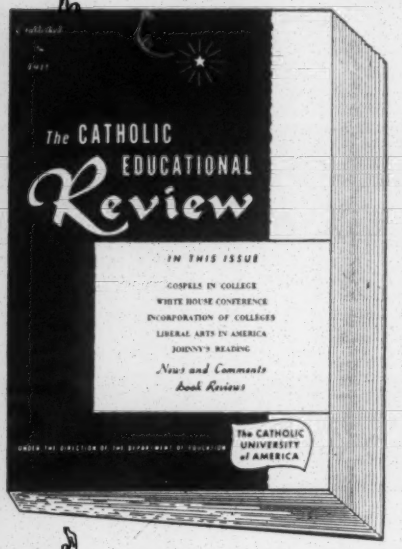

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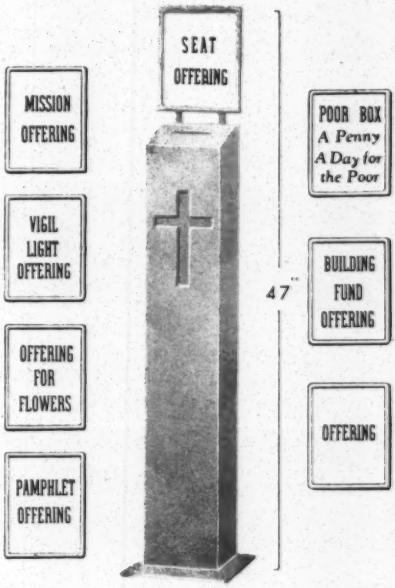

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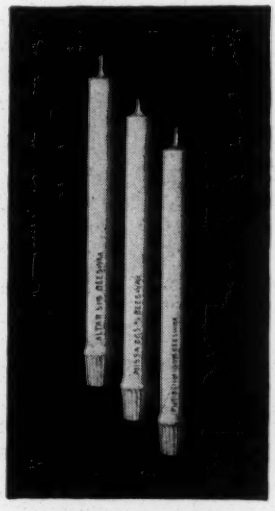

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THE INSTRUCTION ON COEDUCATION

In the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* for March 11, 1958, there is published an instruction issued by the Sacred Congregation for Religious on "the mixed education of the youth of both sexes"—that is, on the subject of coeducation. This instruction is vitally important for the Catholics of the United States, particularly those who have some part in the education of our youth. Although it was issued by the Congregation for Religious, the instruction was first submitted to the judgment of members of five other Roman Congregations as well as to representatives of the Holy See in various countries. Finally, it was approved by the Sovereign Pontiff, on March 5, 1957, and His Holiness commanded that it be published. The instruction was issued by the Congregation for Religious on December 8, 1957, though it did not appear in the official organ of the Holy See until three months later.

The reason why the instruction comes from the Congregation for Religious is that this Congregation, since it is concerned with the many religious engaged in the work of education throughout the world, received a special mandate from the Sovereign Pontiff to prepare such a document. It should be noted that the chief concern of this pronouncement is coeducation in *high schools.* It states explicitly that local Ordinaries have the right to determine at what ages both sexes can be educated together in universities and in elementary schools.

The detailed conclusions of the instructions are divided into three parts, designated respectively principles, precepts and precautions. The first and most fundamental principle is that which was asserted almost thirty years ago by Pope Pius XI in his Encyclical *Divini illius Magistri,* in the statement that "false also and harmful to Christian education is the so-called method of coeducation."[1] The instruction admits that coeducation does offer certain advantages, particularly the opportunity it affords boys and girls to mingle with one another properly; but it also asserts that these advantages cannot compensate for the dangers which are connected with this system of education.

[1] *DB,* 2215.

Another principle, however, is that in certain instances coeducation can be permitted as the lesser of two evils, the greater evil being the exclusion of one sex from the advantages of a Catholic education. This principle is applicable particularly when the expense involved would render it impossible to build separate schools for boys and girls. In such cases coeducation can be tolerated in Catholic schools, provided the proper precautions are taken.

In these two principles regarding coeducation we have a parallel in the common Catholic teaching regarding the relations between Church and State. The ideal situation is that every civil government shall recognize the Catholic Church as the true Church of Jesus Christ and grant it the special honor and obedience that are its due. But in certain circumstances the most practical policy is for the Church to receive and to seek no special favor, as is the case in our country.

The second portion of the instruction begins with the precept that when it is necessary to have coeducation, definite norms must be laid down to avoid the dangers which could be caused by this system. One method, which the Holy See favors, is to have "coinstitution," which means that boys and girls are taught in the same building, but in separate classes, though they may have a common library and laboratory (these two being used separately and at different times). Indeed, the decree states, such a system, while it would reduce expenses considerably, would not be coeducation in the ordinary sense.

This portion of the instruction also rules that there be included in the five-year report to the Holy See required of Ordinaries an account of the way in which the coeducational schools are functioning, and also that the Bishops at their national meetings lay down norms for those circumstances in which coeducation is called for.

The third part of the instruction, headed "precautions," and intended to give some brief and general safeguards (leaving more detailed rulings to be determined by local authorities), begins with the important prescription that religious superiors shall assign to coeducational schools only religious men and women of proved virtue and maturity of judgment. It is also commanded that in every school there shall be a religious prefect or spiritual director.

It seems to be understood that this office should be filled by a priest, although this requirement is not explicitly stated.

The instruction visualizes lay teachers in Catholic high schools and commands that special attention be given to their selection so that only those will be chosen who are above all suspicion and will contribute effectively to the moral education of the boys and girls.

The instruction commands twice that physical culture and sports must not be carried out by boys and girls together. It also prohibits communal living—which presumably means that in the case of a boarding school that is coeducational the boys and girls shall live in separate houses or halls. As far as I know, this last prescription is fully observed in our country. In particular it is prescribed that when there is coeducation in a classroom the boys shall sit on one side and the girls on the other. They are not to meet in cloakrooms and similar places and should come to school and leave at different times. Separate classes are to be conducted in matters connected with the sixth commandment and certain biology lessons (evidently concerned with sex and reproduction), as also when lectures or lessons are given pertaining to the behavior or psychology of one sex.

It is supposed that some social functions take place for boys and girls together, but the instruction states that these must be conduced with great moderation and modesty and always under supervision. Finally, there must always be a religious or trustworthy lay person present when mixed activities take place.

A practical problem in this connection is whether the boys and girls in a coeducational or even coinstitutional school may be permitted to take lunch together. Since the present instruction supposes that there can be some association in these schools among the pupils of both sexes, and even refers to such association as having some advantages, it seems to me that a get-together in the lunch hour, properly supervised, would be quite permissible and perhaps even desirable.

The final precaution is concerned with those religious who teach or exercise the sacred ministry for the benefit of school-girls, even in coeducational institutions. Such religious are warned against any undue freedom of association with the pupils.

One of the precautions is difficult to understand—the third. Literally it states, "religious are not permitted to have charge of

(moderari) coeducational high schools, except rarely and in extreme necessity, and then only after obtaining an apostolic indult from this Sacred Congregation." The NCWC translation renders this as "both men and women religious," although the word is *religiosi.* I suggest that the meaning is that a priest shall ordinarily be assigned as head of a high school, even when it is staffed by religious men or women; but I confess that I am far from sure that this is the meaning intended.

This important instruction should be regarded as sacred by all who take part in the work of Catholic education and its prescriptions should be conscientiously put into operation. Above all, it serves as a reminder that Catholics must accept the principle, so forcibly enunciated by Pope Pius XI, that coeducation is not *per se* a desirable system. It is unfortunate that in recent years some Catholics believed that they were free to reject this statement of the Sovereign Pontiff, declaring that it was outmoded, not made for the United States, etc., and proposing coeducation as the best system. Such Catholics were apparently unaware that they are bound to assent to the declarations of the Pope, even when they are not intended to be infallible pronouncements.

It is interesting to note that at the present day, in view of the academic and disciplinary failures that are so common in secondary education, many secular educators are calling for a return of the traditional American method of having separate schools for boys and girls. Thus, Dr. David Reisman, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, has stated that less coeducation in American high schools is desirable.[2] Furthermore, it is well to note that some of the schools that have maintained the best educational standards, such as the Boston Latin School, have definitely opposed any attempts to introduce coeducation. Of course, for loyal Catholics the statement of the Vicar of Christ, corroborated by this more recent instruction, should be the most convincing argument. It would be pathetic if it happened that secular educators would align themselves against coeducation, while a group of Catholics favored it, despite the statements of the Holy See.

No one can complain that this present decree is not sufficiently generous in allowing coeducation when circumstances call for it as

[2] Cf. *The New York Times,* March 2, 1958, p. 27.

a lesser evil than requiring some of our young folks to attend a non-religious school. The Roman authorities are evidently aware of the conditions prevailing in the United States, where our people are making so many financial sacrifices to build and staff Catholic schools. And when—as often happens—it would be impossible to provide two schools, or even separate classes for boys and girls, coeducation is surely justifiable. But in such an event, priests and religious in charge of these schools should fulfill exactly the precautions laid down by the instruction. Some may be tempted to regard these precautions as excessive, especially the ruling that the boys and girls be separated in the classroom and the prescription that they enter and leave the building at different times. But when the Holy See makes such rulings, it is our duty to obey them without criticism.

One of the arguments sometimes adduced by those in favor of coeducation in Catholic high schools is that it promotes Catholic marriages. This point is not mentioned among the advantages of this system proposed in the instruction. I am not sufficiently familiar with statistics to judge of the force of this argument; but at any event it is not in itself a sufficient reason to overthrow the general principle of the undesirability of coeducation in itself, though in certain localities it might be a contributing reason for maintaining a coeducational school.

The Holy See is most realistic, and the willingness of the Sovereign Pontiff to take actual circumstances into consideration and to make prudent adjustments is manifested in this recent instruction. All who are engaged in the work of Catholic education should wholeheartedly support it and immediately put it into effect. We can be sure that it will help much toward the main purpose of our educational program, the formation of staunch and virtuous Catholic men and women.

FRANCIS J. CONNELL, C.SS.R.

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A NEW DATE FOR THE LAST SUPPER

Those who have read and meditated upon the Gospel accounts of the Passion of Our Lord must sometime have been struck by a strange inconsistency. From St. John's Gospel we learn, by inference at least, that the Last Supper could not have been the Passover meal, the feast at which the Jews commemorated the flight of the Israelites from Egypt to the Promised Land. The Friday of the Crucifixion was the day of the Passover meal in John's account and the Last Supper had taken place the night before. But the Synoptic Evangelists affirm that the Last Supper was a Passover meal. Apparently the two accounts evidence a confusion in dates. The problem has also been a thorny one for Scripture scholars, and we have only to read various lives of Christ to see to what lengths they go to explain it. Recently a new and very satisfying explanation has been proposed. But before we examine that, let us look more closely at the problem itself and at a few other attempts to answer it.

THE PROBLEM

The Passover was one of the most solemn feasts of the Jewish year.[1] It took place annually on the fifteenth of *Nisan,* the first month of the Jewish calendar. For a week prior to the fifteenth the Jew had to be very careful to avoid defilement by contact with Gentiles or in any of the ways the Law warned against.[2] The eve of the feast day, the fourteenth of *Nisan,* was marked by the slaying of the paschal lamb in sacrifice upon the Temple altar, to be followed by the sacred meal in the evening. Since the Jewish "day" was calculated officially from sunset the day before, the banquet was on the feast day itself. The rest of the day was spent in complete rest, at least as solemn as the weekly Sabbath rest. In describing the events of the Passion, St. John (18:28) carefully notes that the chief priests would not enter the praetorium of Pilate when they brought Jesus to the Roman governor, lest they be defiled and unable to eat the feast. That day must have been the Preparation

[1] Cf. *Exod.,* 12:1-28; *Lev.,* 23:5-8; *Num.,* 28:16-25; *Deut.,* 16:1-18.

[2] H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch,* II (Munich: Beck, 1924), 838 f.

Day of the Passover, Friday the fourteenth of *Nisan*. Thursday would have been a day too early for the Passover meal. But the Last Supper was on Thursday.

What is the evidence of the Synoptic Gospels? St. Mark begins his account of the Last Supper, on Thursday apparently, this way: "on the first day of the Unleavened Bread, when it was customary for them to sacrifice the Passover" (14:12). The statement leaves no room for doubt that the Apostles were preparing for a Passover meal. The Synoptics go on to place the trials of Christ and the Crucifixion on Friday, but according to them that Friday would be the fifteenth, a day when servile work and indeed any official work at all was strictly forbidden.[3] For the Jews to have prosecuted Christ on such a feast day would have been a serious and obvious violation of the Law. Now the contradiction is clear: either we follow St. John and the Last Supper would not be a Passover feast at all, or we follow Sts. Matthew, Mark and Luke and the Last Supper would indeed be a Passover meal, but the Crucifixion would have to be on the solemn day of rest.

Scholars have tried to reconcile the accounts in a variety of ways.[4] Some have chosen simply to follow the sequence given in the Fourth Gospel, relinquishing the real paschal character of the Last Supper and explaining that for the Synoptic Evangelists it acquired its Passover character from its close association with the real feast a day later. Others have supposed either that the Jews postponed the feast in order to execute Christ, or that Our Lord anticipated it for some reason. Père Lagrange had offered the proposal that there were two different systems of dating the feast current in Palestine at the time, one preferred by the Sadducees and one by the Pharisees.[5] When the Preparation Day of the Passover coincided with the weekly Preparation Day of the Sabbath, which would have been the case the way St. John recounts the story, the Sadducees prepared the feast a day early. Christ would have followed this practice and even eaten the meal a day early, as perhaps

[3] *Exod.*, 12:16 and the *Mekhilta Rabbi Ishmael* on the passage. Cf. also Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, 815 ff.

[4] C. Fouard, "Cène," *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Paris: Letouzey, 1912), vol. II, part I, cols. 408-413.

[5] M.-J. Lagrange, O.P., *The Gospel of Jesus Christ* (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1938), II, 191-195; *L'Évangile selon Saint Marc* (Paris: Gabalda, 1947), pp. 354-363.

Galileans often did. In the Gospels St. Mark apparently spoke of this early Passover and St. John referred only to the official one observed by the Pharisees. Ricciotti in his *Life of Christ* also explains the difficulty by supposing a difference in dating between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, but on somewhat different grounds.[6] All the scholars have followed the Gospel accounts in placing the Last Supper on Thursday, but no one has presented any conclusive evidence to settle the question.

The most recent and most attractive solution was proposed by Miss A. Jaubert of Paris in several recent articles on the date of the Last Supper and on the calendars used in the time of Christ.[7] Several scholars have welcomed her solution, which would place the Last Supper, not on Thursday at all, but on Tuesday. In this hypothesis both John and the Synoptics would be right, because there seem to have been two completely different calendars actually in use in Palestine at that time. We shall examine the two lines of argument for this position, one based on the calendars, and another based on an ancient Christian tradition.

A SECOND CALENDAR

The official Jewish calendar tried to keep pace with both the moon and the sun. Its twelve months of twenty-nine or thirty days followed the appearances of the moon; but to avoid getting behind on the seasons, it was necessary to insert an intercalary month every two or three years. This calendar resembled ours in that the seven weekdays would regularly have different dates of the month over a long cycle of years. In the year of Our Lord's death, for example, the fourteenth of the month *Nisan* fell on a Friday. As for the origin of the calendar, many of its features originated in Babylon, where the Israelites had sojourned in exile in the sixth century B.C.

Another system of dating was expounded in the apocryphal *Book of Jubilees,* which is commonly thought to have been written

[6] J. Ricciotti, *The Life of Christ* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1947), pp. 561-568.

[7] "La date de la dernière Cène," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,* 146 (1954), 140-173; "Le Calendrier des Jubilés et de la Secte de Qumrân: Ses origines bibliques," *Vetus Testamentum,* 3 (1953), 250-264; "Le Calendrier des Jubilés et les jours liturgiques de la semaine," *Vetus Testamentum,* 7 (1957), 35-61.

in the second century B.C. The Jubilees calendar was a solar calendar of 364 days each year. The twelve months were divided into four equal seasons, with an extra day added to the last month of each season. The distinguishing feature of this system is that the first month always began on a Wednesday, and therefore every year the same day of the week would have the same date in the same month. Thus the fourteenth of the first month was a Tuesday every year. With only 364 days each year, this calendar also fell behind the seasons, but we do not know exactly what method of interpolation was used.

Our knowledge of the Jubilees calendar is reinforced by another apocryphal work, the *Book of Enoch,* but both of these are only literary productions, often fanciful ones. Was the calendar ever actually in use?

The dramatic discovery and equally dramatic study of the Dead Sea Scrolls answers this question. From the caves at Qumrân on the Dead Sea, where the strange Essene community in the wilderness hid their sacred books before the Roman invaders of A.D. 66-70, have come many complete manuscripts and thousands of fragmentary ones of books of the Old Testament, apocryphal works such as *Enoch* and *Jubilees,* and the writings proper to the Essene Jews. Two of these last, the *Manual of Discipline* and the *Damascus Document,* stress the need for careful observance of the proper dates for feast days, and they imply the use of the Jubilees calendar.[8] More important, however, are fragments from Cave 4 of several records of Temple service and liturgical calendars that follow exactly the Jubilees system.[9] Some of these have been dated in the first half of the first Christian century. They prove that there was actually in use in Palestine at the time of Christ a calendar that rivalled that of the Pharisees and placed the Passover feast on Tuesday, which the Qumrân fragments mention explicitly.

What of the origin of the Jubilees calendar? Miss Jaubert has shown in very detailed studies that this system of reckoning was followed in the traditions of several early Old Testament books.[10]

[8] *Manual of Discipline* (1QS) x, 3-8; i, 13-15; iii, 9-10; *Damascus Document* (CDC) iii, 13-15; vi, 17-19; xvi, 1-4.

[9] Cf. J. T. Milik, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le Désert de Juda* (Paris: Cerf, 1957), pp. 71-73.

[10] *Vetus Testamentum* 3 (1953), 250-264.

It seems to have been the calendar used by the priestly traditions of Israel at least in Exilic times, and perhaps much earlier. The legal calendar, we have said, was introduced after the Exile. The evidence points towards its being imposed upon the Jews in the second century B.C. under the influence of Hellenistic domination in the Near East. The naturally rebellious spirit of the Jews did not permit universal acceptance of the new system, and some historians and biblical scholars now feel that one of the reasons for the migration of the Essene group to the wilderness of Qumrân was to keep intact their religious observance of the ancient calendar.

The solution offered for the Gospel problem can now be sketched. Our Lord may have followed the Jubilees calendar and eaten the Passover on Tuesday. Thus the Synoptics are correct in calling the meal a Passover meal. But John is no less correct in portraying the chief priests as about to eat the meal on Friday, for they followed the official calendar. So far, however, we have mentioned no evidence to connect the Jubilees calendar, or at least the idea of a Tuesday Last Supper, with Christian usage. That evidence must come from another source.

AN ANCIENT CHRISTIAN TRADITION

Three early Christian documents preserve for us the tradition that the Last Supper did take place on a Tuesday. The oldest of these, the *Didascalia Apostolorum,* dates back at least to the beginning of the third century. In this work Our Lord is represented as saying, "Tuesday evening I ate the Passover with you and at night they captured me."[11] As for the rest of the week, the *Didascalia* places the Sanhedrin trial on Wednesday, the taking of Christ to Pilate on Thursday, and the trial before Pilate and the Crucifixion on Friday. Strangely enough, this account says that the high priests also ate the Passover on Tuesday in order to render possible the capture and execution of Jesus without interfering with the real day of rest.

St. Victorinus of Pettau, who died in 304, gives similar indications of dating in a fragmentary work called *De Fabrica Mundi,* which explains the Christian significance of the days of creation.[12]

[11] *Didascalia Apostolorum,* chap. 21; F. Nau (Paris, 1902).
[12] *MPL,* V, cols. 303 ff.

He states that the Christian custom of fasting on Wednesday is meant to commemorate the capture of Christ on a Wednesday, reckoning the day as beginning in the evening. Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus (died in 403), may be following the *Didascalia* when he repeats the tradition, but he must have considered it independently reliable.[13] Thus we have the idea of the Last Supper on Tuesday evening prevailing in some areas of the Church at least back beyond the third century.

Moreover, St. Paul's account of the institution of the Holy Eucharist in *I Cor.* 11:24 mentions, not the night before the *death* of Christ, but "the night in which He was betrayed." The Canon of the Mass, which preserves a very ancient liturgical form, places the institution of the Eucharist on "the day before He suffered," and Christ's sufferings may well be said to have begun with the Agony and the capture. Negatively, at least, these two sources do not exclude our hypothesis. In fact, the Gospel accounts themselves, although they imply it, nowhere mention explicitly that the Last Supper was on Thursday. Our evidence for the liturgical celebration of the Last Supper is very strong, but it does not go back beyond the fourth century.[14] Arguments for Thursday may, it is true, be found in the writings of certain second-century Church Fathers, such as Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria,[15] but they are doubtless intentionally based upon the apparent implication from the Gospel accounts and not upon some other tradition.

Our next question, however, is a telling one. To what extent is the Tuesday hypothesis in accord with the Gospels themselves? Is it necessary to do violence to them to substantiate the hypothesis?

THE GOSPEL ACCOUNTS OF THE PASSION

Let us consider the entire week preceding the Crucifixion in the light of the two calendars. According to St. John (12:1), the anointing of Jesus at the supper at Lazurus' home in Bethany took place "six days before the Passover." St. Mark (14:1) implies

[13] K. Holl, "Ein Bruchstück aus einem bisher unbekannten Brief des Epiphanius," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte,* II (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1928), 204-224. Cf. also Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* II, 51, 26 (*MPG,* XLI, 933 ff.); *Expositio Fidei,* 22 (*MPG,* XLII, 825 ff.).

[14] Cf. Holl, *op. cit.,* 205, line 18, to 206, line 10.

[15] E.g., Clement of Alexandria, fragment in *MPG,* IX, 757 f.

that the Passover was "after two days" in relation to this supper. If we assume that the anointing was on Saturday evening and that the Evangelists do not refer to the same Passover, the counting of days is no longer contradictory.

On that Saturday also the chief priests and Scribes were seeking how to dispose of Christ before the feast. "The next day" (John 12:12), Sunday, Jesus made His triumphal entry into Jerusalem and later returned to Bethany to spend the night. Doubtless on Sunday, also, Judas first approached the chief priests for his nefarious plot. "And the next day, after they had left Bethany" (*Mark,* 14:12)—Monday therefore—Jesus cursed the fig tree en route to the city again. St. Matthew (21:19) leads us to believe that the fig tree withered on the spot, but he is perhaps compressing the incident for the purposes of his narrative. St. Mark is probably more accurate in mentioning that the Apostles noticed the withered tree "as they passed by in the morning" (11:20), that is, Tuesday morning following another night outside the city.

That Tuesday, according to the Essene calendar, was the fourteenth day of *Nisan,* "the first day of the Unleavened Bread, when it was customary for them to sacrifice the Passover" (*Mark,* 14:12). And then it was that Jesus and the Apostles celebrated the feast. Late that night, after the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane, the Jews came and arrested Our Lord. Even if the capture took place before midnight, it was Wednesday according to the Jewish way of counting days.

An apparent difficulty against the Tuesday theory and also a good argument for it arise from the Gospel treatment of the period of Jesus' captivity. All the Gospels give the clear impression that Jesus was a prisoner for less than one day—from Thursday night until His death on Friday afternoon. But on the other hand, it seems almost impossible that so many events could have taken place in such a short time. What probably happened was that the Evangelists compressed their account of the Passion into a fast-moving narrative that has generally been taken for only one day. Examples of such compression, as we have seen in the incident of the fig tree, were not foreign to the Gospels.

We shall examine finally the order of events of the Passion spread out over Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. Nowhere will our explanation contradict the inspired accounts.

St. Luke tells us that following the arrest Jesus was led "to the high priest's house" (*22*:54). St. John identifies this first interrogation as that of the elder high priest, Annas. During the process, the denials of Peter took place. Then Annas sent Our Lord bound to Caiphas, his son-in-law, the official high priest. Jesus spent the rest of the night there. By the prescriptions of Jewish law, which is preserved for us from the second century A.D. and which certainly prevailed two centuries earlier, no trials before the Sanhedrin could be held at night.[16] On Wednesday, therefore, "as soon as day broke, the elders of the people and the chief priests and Scribes gathered together" (*Luke,* 22:66), for the first legal trial. The same Jewish law also strictly forbade delivering a verdict on the day the trial was held; the verdict had to wait until another night had passed. After a night of suffering, then, "when morning came" (*Matt.,* 27:1)—Thursday morning—Jesus was condemned by the Sanhedrin and led away to Pilate.

It should be observed that in the traditional view the various expressions indicating morning in the Passion narratives have all been taken to refer to Friday morning. With this proposed chronology, they may well indicate the passage of several days.

The Gospels tell us that there were two separate trials before Pilate, interrupted by the mock-trial before Herod. St. Luke distinguishes them clearly. The first Roman trial and the visit to Herod's palace took place on Thursday. It was then that the pharisaical attitude of the chief priests prevented their entering the court of the Gentile governor lest they incur ritual defilement, though the whole unjust process did not bother their consciences. Jesus must have spent the next night in the prison of Pilate's fortress, and on Friday "Pilate called together the chief priests and the rulers of the people" (*Luke,* 23:13). The fact of calling the assembly together seems to imply that they had gone home for the night. Moreover, the incident of the dream of Pilate's wife seems also to demand a night between Pilate's court-sessions. Immediately following the last trial on Friday, Jesus was led forth through the streets of Jerusalem, with painful slowness, for the streets were jammed with worshippers for the Passover feast. When the procession reached Calvary, the Son of God was crucified. This day was

[16] *Sanhedrin,* 4, 1.

the fourteenth of *Nisan* for those who followed the legal calendar, the day when the paschal lamb was slaughtered on the Temple altar.

We need not dwell on the fact that this chronology of Our Lord's Passion appears to do far more justice to the series of events in the Passion itself than does a shorter period of time. It may be well to note again, as Father E. Vogt, S.J., Rector of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, has written, that "this chronology does not appear to contradict the Gospels, but rather to be suggested by them; it solves several difficulties and sheds new light on the events of the Passion."[17] It has the merit of helping also to explain the date of the anointing at Bethany, as well as demonstrating how Our Lord could have celebrated the Passover meal and also died on the eve of the Passover. Further, the Christian custom of celebrating many feasts on Sunday and of fasting and doing penance on Wednesday and Friday is reminiscent of the priority consistently given to these three days in the unofficial Jewish calendar. Of course, for Christians Sunday is sanctified by the memory of the Resurrection and Friday by the Crucifixion, but the early tradition may be right in relating Wednesday to the day of Christ's capture.

If the Jubilees or Essene calendar is truly the most ancient and most genuine Hebrew calendar, as Miss Jaubert has proposed, it is fitting that Our Lord should have followed it for the Last Supper and thus strengthened the symbolic bond between the sacrifice of the New Covenant and that of the Old. We must remember, however, that this entire suggestion is not proposed as an unquestionable fact. There are still difficulties in understanding the Gospel accounts that it does not resolve. But so long as we regard it as a possible explanation, while awaiting further confirmation we may find it an aid to a clearer picture of the Passion of Our Lord.

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[17] "Dies Ultimae Coenae Domini," *Biblica* 36 (1955), 413.

POPE BENEDICT XIV (1740-58)

On the third of May, 1758, a little after mid-day, there died in Rome, Pope Benedict XIV, known before his elevation to the Pontificate as Prospero Lambertini. The expiring pontiff had governed the Church for eighteen years—a long, difficult pontificate in which, though he preserved his vigor and equanimity, he had found full justification for the thoughts he had expressed at the beginning of his reign. Writing to the Bishop of Spoleto soon after his elevation, Benedict confessed: "I hardly know myself anymore, so overwhelmed am I with work and protocol . . . What bothers me, as I am ready to testify, is that even in my free and exalted position, I find nought but cause for fear as regards this world and eternity." Despite these early misgivings, at the moment of death the eighty-four-year-old Pontiff should have been content. He had proved himself one of the most learned and active prelates of his age.[1]

Of fairly robust health, with a handsome face and a fine physique, Prospero Lambertini was one of the most kindly and gracious of the Popes. Endowed with a sharp, irrepressible sense of humor, which he was continually turning back on himself, the Bolognese Pope was yet a man of decision and of action—slow, deliberate, conciliatory, but positive and effective. Of the cast of mind of a modern pontiff, he most resembled his more recent successors: Leo XIII and Pius XII. Though unable completely to turn the tide of disaffection, of religious controversy, and of political malfeasance, that plagued his age, he did renew the spiritual bulwarks of the Church, and by encouraging and protecting its saints and scholars, turned into the maelstrom of modern life, a steady and determined guide that has kept the Bark of Peter headed into, but unbattered by, the storms of adversity.

Elected Pope on the seventeenth of August, 1740, on the two-hundredth-fifty-fifth ballot, after a fearsome, six-month conclave, Prospero Lambertini gave his own final vote to his principal rival, Cardinal Aldobrandi, saying that he thought it only proper "to

[1] This essay is based mainly on Ludwig von Pastor's *History of the Popes*, volumes XXXV and XXXVI (English translation St. Louis: Herder and Co., 1949-50), which is still the most complete life of Pope Benedict XIV.

honor the man who had to step down to make room for Us." He chose the name Benedict out of respect for the Pope to whom he owed his own elevation as cardinal; but also to indicate to his recent colleagues that the days of factions were over. He would be a Pope beholden to no one; inimical to no group; accessible to all.[2]

Born in Bologna on March 31, 1675, Prospero Lambertini came from a prominent family that had known great wealth. As a result of a second marriage with Count Luigi Bentivoglio, his mother was able to provide her son with an excellent education, sending him to the Clementine College in Rome, where he made a brilliant record, completing his studies in 1692. In 1694 he received his doctorate in theology and law from the University of Rome; then took up residence in the Eternal City as a young advocate on the Rota. Thoroughly acquainted with the works of the Fathers of the Church, the Councils, and the practices of the Roman curia, Prospero's interests combined a keen awareness of the Church's historical perspective with a diligent pursuit of the law. Endowed with an excellent memory, he had a thorough command of the classics which enabled him into old age to match quotations from the Greek and Latin authors with the learned men who paid him court. Yet this ability in no way interfered with his awareness of the fitness of things. His own good sense could provoke him into writing to Cardinal Quirini, whose learned pretensions worried him: "God will not require of Us or of you an account of learned disputations. But He will demand the strictest account concerning the welfare of souls."[3]

Favored for his talents by Pope Innocent XXII, young Prospero was selected a *Promotor Fidei* in the Congregation of Rites in 1708, and soon found himself entrusted with the canonization processes of Pope Pius V and of Catherine Vigri of Bologna. Having brought these cases to successful termination, he finally felt himself obliged to publish a work on the procedures involved declaring: "I set myself to this task all the more willingly inasmuch as the process followed in canonizations is practically unknown except to investigators actually engaged in the work." This was the origin of his monumental study *On the Beatification and Canonization of the Servants of God,* which remains to this day the standard reference work on the subject.

[2] Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.,* XXXV, 21 f.
[3] *Ibid.,* XXXVI, 139.

In short order, well established in the heart of Christendom, quickly recognized as a fine scholar, a brilliant conversationalist, and withal a man of piety and extreme common sense, the competent young ecclesiastic suddenly encountered a series of duties and offices whereby in 1722 he found himself a Consultor to the Roman Inquisition, a member of the Congregation of Rites, Secretary to the Congregation of the Council, and a Canon of St. Peter's.[4]

No mere calculating office-seeker, Canon Lambertini was known as a delightful companion and charming host. Evenings he spent with a circle of learned friends, discussing the political and ecclesiastical problems of the day, enlarging on the literary and scientific interests of the age, his own conversation interspersed with his inimitable characterizations and invariably sharp and wittily perceptive remarks.[5] Quickly sizing up this level-headed and conciliatory counsellor, Pope Benedict XIII came to lean heavily upon the advice of Canon Lambertini, particularly when dealing with the excruciating political machinations of the Christian princes—of Spain, Portugal, Naples, France and Austria—as well as in his attempts to alleviate the sufferings of his Catholic subjects in Protestant and Islamic lands.[6]

To the surprise of no one but himself, Prospero Lambertini was selected Archbishop of Ancona early in 1727,[7] whereupon it became known that he had been created a cardinal *in petto* the preceding December. Upon assuming the cardinalatial robes in December, 1729, he assured a close acquaintance: "Have no worries. With this transformation I am merely changing colors. I am still the same old Lambertini in character—light-hearted and your true friend."[8]

The new Archbishop of Ancona set out at once to put into effect the decrees of the Council of Trent on clerical probity and diocesan administration. He embarked on a complete visitation of his archdiocese, called local synods into session, and sent out a series of

[4] "They must take me for a man with three heads," Prosper informed a friend, "to have loaded me with so many offices. For each of these posts I should have a separate soul; but as it is, the poor one I have can hardly look after me" (*Ibid.*, XXXV, 27).

[5] Among the Canon's friends were Montfaucon, Scipio Maffei, and the future Cardinals Passionei, Quirini, Valenti, and Ganganelli.

[6] Cf. *ibid.*, XXXIV, 140 ff.

[7] He had been made titular Bishop of Theodosia in 1725.

[8] Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXXV, 28.

pastoral letters and instructions aimed at the spiritual and temporal well-being of his people. He was not only solicitous about the status of the clergy, but his penchant for the practical caused the new archbishop to further the restoration of churches, the beautification of his cathedral, and the alleviation of the social and economic condition of the inhabitants.

Translated to his native diocese as Archbishop of Bologna in May 1731, the fifty-six-year-old Prelate wrote to inform the local Senate of his appointment, assuring his fellow citizens: "I intend to leave the Eternal City next Sunday. After a brief stop-over in Ancona—to bid a final good-bye to the good citizens who have, with their great forebearance, been so kind to my heart during the past four years—I will be on my way to my new residence; there, when God sees fit, to leave my bones, in that church where fifty-six years ago I received baptism, and forty-six years ago, confirmation." He reassured his compatriots of two things: his cordial affection for all, and his desire to assist everyone without annoyance. "This is my character in profile," he informed them. "But the fact is that the other side of me is hidden, and does not correspond, being of such ugliness and full of the greatest imperfections . . . It is here that the members of the Senate will have to help me . . . reducing them to a state wherein they will be supportable."[9]

To the amazement of all, the new Archbishop brought precious few possessions with him, and almost no servants. "His only attendants," a wag remarked, "seem to be his virtues." Having lived outside his native city for so long, the new prelate made no sweeping moves; but while demonstrating genuine generosity to the poor and deserving, he made it plain that he was taking stock of the situation. "I do not wait for the truth to come to me," he remarked when setting out to visit some remote Apennine villages, "but I go forth to seek it. It is of too exalted a rank to be kept waiting in an ante-chamber."

Similar to his procedure in Ancona, Cardinal Lambertini inaugurated a series of diocesan synods which he confirmed with detailed instructions. In these letters his tact, his forebearance and benign spirit were evident. In them he likewise exhibited his determination to lead his archdiocese on the path to spiritual perfection. Occasion-

[9] *Ep.*, 6, p. 142 (in *Briefe Bened.* XIV, Erste Beilage).

ally in dealing with his subjects his quick temper got the best of him, and his felicity for making mordant as well as humorous remarks got out of hand. But to indicate the ease with which his good sense intervened to restore the balance, he took a bitter satire directed against him by a local versifier, corrected the composition, emended the verse, and returned it to the author with the remark: "There now. In this form it should find a better market."[10]

Despite the range of his pastoral interests, his indefatigable pen never left his hands. In 1725 he had begun a treatise on canonical regulations for the guidance of priests. This he enlarged and embodied in a work entitled *The Diocesan Synod*.[11] By 1740 he had published a series of volumes which were collected under the title *Ecclesiastical Institutes*. It was made up of a number of treatises, mostly of book length, on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, Confession, The Cult of the Saints, Feasts and Holy Days, and his Rules for Canonization Procedures.[12]

His truly humble, while forthright and courageous character, sincerely devoid of great ambition, was shown by the fact that he did not hesitate to write to Pope Clement XII, who had remonstrated with him over some complaints that had reached Rome concerning the behavior of the Vicar General of Bologna: "Loftiness of situation exposes your Holiness to the danger of deception, to which I am less subject, having time to make careful investigations. I would sacrifice the accused Vicar if he were guilty. But I know him. And I pray daily to Our Divine Saviour that He may be as content with His Vicar on earth as I am with mine."[13]

This was the man who on August 17, 1740 was suddenly proposed and accepted by his colleagues in the College of Cardinals as the new Pope. "In six hours," wrote Cardinal Albani, "the great work has been completed, which had not been able to be concluded in six

[10] Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXXV, 31.

[11] *De synodo diocaesana* new edition in four volumes (Malines, 1842).

[12] Benedict's works were originally edited by E. De Azevedo, S.J., under the supervision of the Pope himself. The King of Portugal paid the expenses for this publication: *Benedicti XIV Opera Omnia* (twelve volumes, Rome, 1747-51). A second edition was issued in Venice in 1788. The most complete edition was that of Prato, published in 1844 in seventeen volumes. The *Bullarium Benedicti XIV* was brought out in a two-volume second edition in Naples in 1884.

[13] Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXXV, 31 f.

months of obstinate opposition, and of a most miserable incarceration."[14]

Of Benedict XIV, the Venetian Ambassador, Marco Foscarini, wrote to his government:

> Although the new Pope has never held a nunciature and hence has no great knowledge of political conditions, his lively temperament, his excellent memory, and his good sense render him capable of sound judgment. He is naturally good-natured, pleasant-mannered, eloquent, inclined now and then to indulge in witty remarks and easily excited, but he soon calms down again... His private life has shown more inclination towards liberality than towards thrift, providing for the poor and churches in the manner of the first Christians... He will see to the good discipline of the clergy without being too strict. Although he has devoted himself chiefly to juristic studies, he will encourage all scholars and will pick good officials for himself. Hitherto he has shown no tendency to promote undeserving relatives... With regard to the jurisdictional conflicts of the Holy See, he has always been so inclined to yield, that it was said of Monsignore Lambertini that he wrote excellently, but that he found it too easy to avoid unpleasantness, and to wiggle out of a difficulty.[15]

The Ambassador proved himself an excellent seer.

Ludwig von Pastor, the historian of the Popes, credits Benedict XIV with being the incarnation of the best and most pleasing side of the Italian character. This was even true of his physical appearance. Of medium height, he was inclined toward corpulence. He had a full, fresh-complexioned face; chestnut colored hair, slowly greying; large, blue and unusually lively eyes; and around his mouth there continually played a ripple of humor. Blessed with good health, he was endowed with remarkable eyesight, until his eighty-fourth year able to read without trouble the smallest and most complicated handwriting.[16] Despite his abstemious diet, his meticulous rising, praying and working habits, however, the gout caught up with him in his later years. The Pope complained to a friend in 1751: "Yesterday morning Mr. Laurenti started bleeding me for gout; this is merited to be sure by our sins, but certainly not by our abundance of food or of wine."[17]

[14] *Ibid.*, XXXV, 21.
[15] *Ibid.*, XXXV, 33 f.
[16] Cf. *ibid.*, XXXV, 34 f.
[17] *Ep.*, 111, p. 83, in *Briefe an Peggi.*

The new Pope was truly a man of the people. Almost every morning he would set out for a different church in which to celebrate Mass. Two hours before the *Angelus* each evening, he would be seen driving out in his carriage to some sector of the city, penetrating into remote districts such as the Trastevere. Then walking about like an ordinary Monsignor, he would be found quite happily talking to anyone whom he happened to encounter.

The Pope felt that a certain freedom of the spirit was a necessity of human existence. Hence he did not hesitate to display his own genial approach to life even after becoming Pope. Although it was evident that he at times made heroic effort to restrain his wit, he frequently let fall remarks and asides that amused if they did not upset his audience.[18] On it being suggested that the coarse expressions of the Bolognese dialect were unbecoming in a Pontiff, he replied that quite the opposite was true. He was now in a position to ennoble the parlance of his native region.[19] To drive home the point, as well as out of true affection, he retained the Archbishopric of Bologna as his own diocese until a few years before his death.[20]

He made no secret of his use of humor as a weapon in diplomatic conversations, remarking the frequency with which he had to extract himself from embarrassing situations by means of a joke. He said that if he ever were to write a manual for aspiring diplomats, this technique would be a primary recommendation.[21]

The Pope's good sense extended itself to another sphere that endeared him to his contemporaries. His elevation to the Papacy did

[18] Cf. T. Valenti, *Papa Lambertini Umorista* (Rome, 1938).

[19] Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXXV, 40 f.

[20] This did not prevent him from complaining, in his letters to Canon Peggi, of the intellectual indolence of the Bolognonese. Thus, after having decided to give his personal library to the city of Bologna, he wrote in 1755: "Our city will have a fine library when our books are united to those of the deceased Cardinal Monti. The books will be most fortunate, for in Bologna they will enjoy an excellent vacation, and they will not be manhandled as they are here in Rome" (*Ep.*, 158, *Briefe*, p. 16).

[21] Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXXV, 41. Healey, in his article, "Benedict XIV," in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (II, 432-36), mentions Pope Benedict's reactions to Count Choiseul's importunities with reference to the appointment of Cardinal Archinto as Secretary of State: ". . . suddenly seizing the Count by the arm, the Pontiff pushed him down into his own chair, saying 'Fa el Papa (You be the Pope).'"

not result in a rash of nepotism. He refused to allow his brother Egano to come to Rome; and the various distinctions which the court of Spain sought to shower on his relatives were firmly refused. "The Church is my family," said the pontiff, "and the Lord's coat is not to be divided."[22]

On turning to the cares of his new office, Benedict found himself confronted with four main problem areas: a) the eighteen years of his reign were plagued with bickerings of the Catholic states of Austria, Spain, France, the Kingdom of the two Sicilies, Portugal and Savoy, in continual maneuverings for the Imperial crown, as well as in alliances with and against the new Protestant states; b) the Papal States were in poor financial as well as administrative straits, requiring an immediate re-organization, and protection from both the ravages of coastal pirates and the invasions of European powers;[23] and c) religious and theological controversies from the Jansenists issues and efforts to suppress the Society of Jesus, kept his pontificate in continual turmoil; and d) he had to take a definite stand in regard to many problems arising from the Church's vast missionary enterprises in the Far and Near East, as well as in Africa and the New World.

Because of his great sensitivity in matters of justice and his conciliatory attitude in dealing with individual states and kingdoms, Benedict did not hesitate to break with the political policies of his predecessors. Thus for example, he addressed Frederick II as King of Prussia despite the intransigence of former papal attitudes in this matter. For this reason he was charged with a lack of firm-

[22] Cf. Pastor, *loc. cit.* On the arrival of his own grand-nephew in Rome to continue his studies, the Pope wrote to Canon Peggi: "If fathers and mothers would bring up their children as they should, the Jesuits, the Somaschi, and those of the Pious Schools could close their colleges. For all of them receive profit and credit for the little good education that is given to their children by fathers and mothers at home. Since we are living in these unhappy times, however, we are obliged to conform to the world in which we live. This is the reason We are now so close to drinking the bitter chalice of seeing one of Our own blood, not in the place where We live, but in the City, where We now find Ourselves. In Our thinking he should have remained in his own home, learning there to live as a Christian and a gentleman . . ." (*Ep.*, 124, *Briefe*, p. 92).

[23] Pope Benedict spent a good deal of time reorganizing the finances of the Papal States and remaking the face of Rome itself. Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXXV, 157 ff.

ness and a tendency to seek peace at all costs. But he chose to ignore the accusation.

That the Pope was supremely conscious of the world-wide mission of the Church could be seen from the zeal with which he approached the tasks involved in seeking the reunion of the Eastern churches, and in legislating for the proper control of the foreign missions. In 1742 he had the pleasure of resettling several branches of the Armenians within the true fold. In 1744 he was able to acknowledge Cyril Tanas as the patriarch of the Greek Melchites of Antioch, sending him the pallium; and some while later he was successful in settling the difficulties of the Maronites. He gave both the Coptic Catholics and the survivors of the ancient Chaldean Churches Apostolic Vicars of their own; and showed special favor to the Catholics of the Slav lands, particularly the Ruthenians. It was he who insisted upon the principle that the ancient eastern rites were to be preserved and observed in all their venerable details; and that orientals returning to the unity of faith were not to be obliged to become Latin Catholics.[24]

In the field of foreign missions, he found himself forced to enter the quarrel concerning the Chinese and Malabar rites, decreeing in July, 1742, by the Bull *Ex quo singulari* that the practices involved in ancestor worship hitherto tolerated on the Chinese mission were no longer allowed; and in September, 1774, with his *Omnium Sollicitudinum* he had to outlaw similar abuses among the Malabar Christians. Needless to say these decisions were taken only after long and intense controversy among the missionaries themselves, and cost the Pontiff no little anxiety and care. For his own approach was neither negative nor restrictive. Rather, as he indicated by his legislation for the missionary work in the islands of the Greek archipelago, he was more intent upon stimulating the zeal of the missionary, invigorating his faith, and lessening his difficulties.

In favor of the Indians of South America, Benedict sent a Constitution to the bishops insisting upon the Indian's rights. In December, 1741, he ordered the absolute cessation of all enslavement or trading in slaves among them.[25] During his reign he had to stave off the calumnious charges brought against the Jesuit "Reductions" in Paraguay; but he was all but powerless in preventing

[24] Cf. *ibid.*, XXXV, 395 ff.
[25] Cf. *ibid.*, XXXV, 433 ff.

the depredations in Brazil, Chile, Peru and the northern Argentine brought about by the rivalries between Spain and Portugal, the infiltrations of the new Protestant maritime powers, the anti-clerical attitude of many of the civil administrators, and the quarrels between bishops and religious.

In general the Pope tried to bring to bear on the Church's vast missionary enterprises the full weight of his own legal training and political experience, everywhere endeavoring to remove legal uncertainties, settle questions of long standing, and establish principles for the regularization of difficult situations.[26]

In the liturgical field wherein the Pontiff was easily the greatest scholar of his age, Benedict proved a conservative influence, suppressing a number of extra holydays, and favoring a return to the older ferial and dominical offices. The only change introduced into the Divine Office during his pontificate was the two lines conferring on St. Leo the Great the title of Doctor of the Church. The Pope had actually appointed a commission to look into the general revision of the Breviary, but when the Jesuit Fabio Danzetto came up with four volumes of notes as a mere start, the Pope gave up in despair.[27]

Despite his many other cares, Benedict never forgot his scholarly interests nor his duty as the supreme teaching power of the Church. He proclaimed the Holy Year Jubilee in 1750; canonized six saints and beatified five;[28] encouraged the preaching of domestic missions, holding St. Leonard of Port Maurice in great veneration, and granting decrees of confirmation to the Passionists in 1741, and to the Redemptorists in 1749.

It was in the interests of intellectual integrity and of the rights of the individual conscience that Benedict XIV showed his true spirit as the father of Christendom.[29] He fought to protect the good names of Muratori, Bossuet, Tillemont and the Bollandists;

[26] Cf. *ibid.*, XXXV, 425 ff.

[27] Cf. *ibid.*, XXXV, 302.

[28] In 1746 Pope Benedict canonized Saints Camillus of Lellis, Fidelis of Sigmaringen, Peter Regalada, Joseph of Leonissa, and Catherine de Ricci. He also formalized the canonization of St. Elizabeth of Portugal and beatified Alexander Sauli, Joseph Calasanctius, Joseph of Cupertino, Jerome Emilian, and Jane Frances de Chantal.

[29] Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXXV, 367.

and compelled the Grand Inquisition of Spain after a ten years' running battle, to remove the name of Cardinal Noris from its Index of forbidden books. In dealing with the Jansenists, although he condemned notoriously Jansenist books, and insisted upon the validity of the bull *Unigenitus,* he put the "Jansenist Library," a list of books compiled by Colonia, on the Roman Index as too zealous in seeking out imaginary heresies; and finally decided that the last sacraments could be given to adherents of the sect who in the opinion of the parish priest were really in good faith.[30] With regard to theological controversy, he insisted that as long as the Church's *magisterium* had not settled a particular point, there should be complete freedom of discussion, reminding litigants of the laws of justice and charity in their dealings with opponents.[31]

He founded a number of learned societies for the pursuit of ancient Roman and Christian antiquity. He enlarged the Vatican Library, purchasing mostly with his own personal funds the Ottobonian collection of over 3,300 Greek, Latin and Hebrew manuscripts, and interested himself in the preparation of a proper catalogue. In the University of Rome, the Pope personally ordered the establishment of a chemical laboratory and an institute for physics; and it is to him that the University owed the renovation of its "anatomical theatre." He showed special favor to the botanist Moratti, the chemist Giraldi, and the mathematician Ruggero Boscovich, S.J., entrusting the latter with the task of measuring the meridian of Rome and preparing a detailed map of the Papal States.[32] He took a particular interest in the works of the so-called philosophers of the enlightenment; read, discussed and refuted their pretensions; and even accepted the dedication of Voltaire's *Mahomet,* which did not prevent the Pope from eventually condemning Voltaire's works.[33]

What Benedict realized better than any of his predecessors was the fact that the mere condemnation of error was no guarantee of rendering falsehood innocuous. Thus he early turned to the expedient of issuing Encyclical Letters wherein the Church's doctrine and the problems of the age were brought face to face. In his *Vix*

[30] Cf. *ibid.,* XXXV, 230 ff.
[31] Cf. *ibid.,* XXXV, 356 ff.
[32] Cf. *ibid.,* XXXV, 190 ff.
[33] Cf. *ibid.,* XXXV, 205-208.

pervenit of 1745, for example, he adapted the Church's ancient concepts of usury to the economic exigencies of the new age; and in his *Magnae nobis admirationis* of June, 1748, he discussed the essence of Christian marriage, decreeing the well-defined conditions under which mixed marriages were allowable.

It was the English literateur Horace Walpole who summed up the esteem with which the Sovereign Pontiff was regarded by the non-Catholic world of his day, sending a graceful eulogy to the Pope in 1757:

> Prosper Lambertini, Bishop of Rome, under the name of Benedict XIV,
> Although an absolute prince, always reigned unoffensively.
> By what art did he achieve that glory? Solely by his virtues.
> Honored by friends of the Papacy, and esteemed by Protestants,
> He was an ecclesiastic free from interestedness and insolence;
> A prince without a favorite, a pope without nepotism;
> An author without vanity; a man whom neither intellect nor power could corrupt.
> Such is the deserved homage that the favored son of a minister
> Who never courted any prince or venerated any churchman
> Presents to the excellent Roman Pontiff.[34]

Active until four days before his death, Benedict XIV saluted the approach of the grim reaper with characteristic calm. He received the last sacraments on the night of May 1st. The next morning, before his Cardinal Deacon and Secretary of State, he signed a profession of faith, and a decree for the beatification of St. Francis Jerome. Then he begged the pardon of the College of Cardinals for all his faults in dealing with them. He exhorted them to set about electing a successor peacefully and with dispatch. Bethinking himself of a piece of unfinished business, he called for the Spanish minister, Cardinal Portocarrero. He informed him that in the Spanish concordat of 1753 he recognized that he had been outmaneuvered; but that those who deceived him had all preceded him into eternity to render their account to God. He was likewise in a

[34] Benedict sent an Italian translation of this eulogy to Canon Peggi, with the observation: "We are sending this to our Canon Peggi since he realizes that We are like the statues on the facade of St. Peter's in the Vatican, which make a good impression on someone who is in the Piazza, and thus far enough from them, but which look like horrid *mascheroni* when one comes closer" (*Ep.*, 171, *Briefe*, p. 128).

few hours to render his own account to God, Who, he hoped, would give him credit for his good intentions and show him mercy. He desired that this information should be communicated to the King of Spain.[35]

With this the Pontiff made it clear that he was finished with the affairs of the world, handing them over to the Secretary of State. A short while later, turning to some sorrowing servants, he urged, with his usual twinkle, "that they should not blame an old man who had plagued them so often with his lack of patience and his faults. He left them in the hands of God, the best of all masters, Who would not die." A little later, he beckoned a fellow Bolognese standing at his bedside and whispered: "Poor old Prospero. He's in a fix, almost forgetting his own name: *sic transit gloria mundi.*" They were the Pontiff's last words. Content in his prayers, Prospero Lambertini passed on to his God a little after noon-time the next day. It was May 3rd, 1758.

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[35] Cf. Pastor, *op. cit.*, XXXVI, 131 f.

HOMILETIC THEORY IN THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In the decades of the sixteenth century following the Council of Trent, Catholic homiletic theory and training entered on a course of reform. The decrees of the Council against the abuses of preaching, and the work of Saint Charles Borromeo in following up these decrees energetically in the provincial councils of Milan and in the publication of his *Instructiones Praedicationis Verbi Dei,* had put on record the highest ideals.[1] With the urging of ecclesiastical authorities, notably of Saint Charles himself in his capacity as Archbishop of Milan, outstanding preachers and writers now came forward to do their part in realizing these ideals. Their task was to supply a theory of preaching based on a sound and systematic set of principles which could be taught in the newly created seminaries. They set to work with a will, for if a chart were made of the publication of homiletic textbooks, the decades after the Council of Trent would show a steeply rising curve, representing a great burst of activity in the composition of works on homiletic theory.

In the period from 1562 to 1600, this activity was carried on mostly in Italy and Spain. North of the Alps and Pyrenees the religious turmoil left little time for the composition of any but polemic works. In England and Ireland the embattled Church was entering the long night when no man could work, with the result that American seminaries founded in the nineteenth century would be without a vernacular tradition in Catholic homiletic theory. Only in the remaining bastions of orthodoxy, in Italy and Spain, were conditions favorable for the development of the homiletic manuals needed for the reform of preaching and for the courses of instruction in the recently established seminaries. While reserving for a special study of the Jesuit homiletic tradition the writings of Saint Ignatius, of James Laynez, of Saint Francis Borgia, and of Jerome Nadal, we can judge from the score of homiletic manuals that appeared in these countries that there was no dearth of theory in the years following the Council of Trent.[2] The theory which these

[1] Cf. J. M. Connors, "Saint Charles Borromeo in Homiletic Tradition," *AER,* CXXXVIII, 1 (Jan. 1958), 9-23.

[2] In 1562 the Franciscan Lucas Baglioni published in Venice his *L'Art del predicare.* An Augustinian Eremite, Lorenzo de Villavicente, not long after

manuals typically contained can be best set forth by a study of two works which were more important and more successful than most of the others: namely, the works of Augustinus Valerius and of Luis of Granada.

Augustinus Valerius (1531-1606), Bishop of Verona, made Cardinal by Pope Gregory XIII, was an intimate friend and admirer of Saint Charles Borromeo. He had been professor of moral philosophy and enjoyed considerable reputation as a man of letters and classical erudition. It was natural enough, then, for Saint Charles to turn to him when a homiletic textbook was needed for the seminary at Milan. The book which Valerius finally published in 1574 at Venice was called *De rhetorica ecclesiastica sive modo concionandi libri tres.* In 1578 it was published there again, together with a treatise by Luis of Granada called *Ecclesiasticae*

—sometime between 1565 and 1575—published his *De formandis sacris concionibus,* a work borrowing heavily from a treatise by the Protestant writer Gerard of Ypres (Andreas Hyperius). The famous Franciscan preacher Cornelius Musso, Bishop of Bitonto and counsellor to Pius IV, wrote *"Discorso intorno all' artificio delle prediche"* and published it in Venice in 1557 in his *Prediche;* he was working on a volume called *Concionator* which he left incomplete at his death in 1574. In 1570 Alphonsus Garsias Matamoro, professor of Rhetoric at the then thriving university of Alcalá, published there his *De tribus dicendi generibus sive de recta informandi styli ratione* and his *De methodo concionandi juxta rhetoricae artis praescriptum.* Antonius Lanquier, a Carmelite, published at Paris in 1578 his *Synopsis ad faciendam piam concionem orthodoxis.* In 1595 at Venice, Ludovico Carbone published his *Divinus Orator vel de rhetorica divina.* A famous Franciscan preacher and professor of sacred rhetoric at Ara Coeli in Rome, Francesco Panigarola, wrote four books on preaching for his students, the most significant of the four being a volume published posthumously at Venice in 1609 under the title *Il predicatore, overo parafrase, commento, e discorsi intorno al libro dell' elocutione di Demetrio Falereo,* which drew upon the decrees of the Council of Trent and the writings of Saint Charles Borromeo and combined them with a running paraphrase of the treatise of Demetrius Phalereus *On Style.*—See Harry Caplan and Henry H. King, "Latin Tractates on Preaching: A Book-List," *Harvard Theological Review,* XLII (July 1949), 185-206; "Italian Treatises on Preaching: A Book-List," *Speech Monographs,* XVI (September 1949), 243-252; "Spanish Treatises on Preaching: A Book-List," *Speech Monographs,* XVII (June 1950), 161-171. See also Charles Dejob, *De L'Influence du Concile de Trente sur la littérature et les beaux-arts ches les peuples Catholiques* (Paris, 1884), 112-116, and Eduard Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa vom VI Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1909), II, 791.

rhetoricae sive de ratione concionandi libri sex, which had appeared in Lisbon in 1576. The two works admirably supplemented each other, which is no doubt the reason why they were sometimes published in a single volume.[3] As we shall see, Valerius drew from Aristotle, while Luis of Granada drew as much from Cicero and Quintilian. These three, the ancient Stagirite philosopher, the greatest Roman orator, and the Spanish teacher of rhetoric at Rome, had been the triumvirate of rhetorical theory since ancient times. Their treatises were commonly considered the chief depositories of what was best in the classical tradition. In a similar way, Valerius and Granada, who quarried these ancient works extensively for the foundation stones of a theory of preaching, may be considered outstanding architects of homiletic theory in the sixteenth century.

In 1573 Valerius, as Bishop of Verona, gave three lectures to his seminarians on the nature and purpose of the book he was writing. In the second lecture, preserved in the Veronese edition of 1732, he told them: "I have divided the work into three books, imitating that great philosopher and observer of nature, Aristotle. In the first book, I have discussed how to instruct an audience; in the second, how to stir their emotions; in the third, how to conciliate them. In this way I have tried to divide my material just as that great man has done." Valerius was as good as his word, and the first book as we now have it is given to the invention of material, the second to audience analysis and emotional appeal, the third to style. The content of each book also corresponds fairly closely in all main points to the content of the parallel book of Aristotle's work. As Aristotle had three categories of oratory—the deliberative, judicial, and demonstrative—so Valerius has three categories of preaching, although he finds that the judicial has little scope. As Aristotle spoke of five types of questions which were at the heart of most debates in deliberative and parliamentary oratory, so Valerius lists five chief subjects of persuasive preaching. Again, as Aristotle makes *ethos, pathos,* and *logos,* the *enthymeme,* and the *example* the chief means of persuasion, and as he gives little space to delivery and limits the theory of speech arrangement to the simple elements of stating one's case and proving it, so, at each of these points, does Valerius give a parallel treatment in homiletic theory.

[3] Widener Library at Harvard has *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae* (Verona, 1732), a combined edition in two volumes of the treatises of Augustinus Valerius, Luis of Granada, and Didacus Stella.

From his own testimony in his lectures to his students, therefore, and much more from direct examination of his three books, the conclusion can be drawn that what Valerius has done is to consciously adopt for the use of the pulpit the full scope and method of the rhetoric developed by Aristotle nearly two millennia before him. The source and method now being clear, a closer and more detailed summary of Valerius' work will show the outline of his homiletic theory.

Book One opens by showing that there is such an art as ecclesiastical rhetoric, which is defined as "the art or faculty of discovering, arranging, and expressing what pertains to the salvation of souls." This definition is already a commitment to Aristotelian theory, inasmuch as it lists only the first three elements of the fivefold canon of classical rhetoric: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. The matter of this art, continues Valerius, is remote and proximate: the remote broadly compassing whatever may be taken for the use of the people from the philosophers, poets, historians, and writers and speakers of all kinds; the proximate matter being all Catholic doctrine, which is to be treated in sermons falling into three general classes: deliberative, demonstrative, and judicial.

Deliberative preaching, which aims at persuasion and dissuasion, deals with five types of material: what is to be believed, hoped, feared, avoided, and done. Under each of these five heads Valerius sketches out various sermon themes, the combined sketches amounting to a full statement of Catholic doctrine, each doctrine being assigned its proper place among the five classifications. These sketches fill chapters Six to Eighteen of *Book One,* and while they are a mine of sermon material they are not rich in statements of technical principles of homiletic theory.

Demonstrative preaching, the genus of praise and blame, is concerned mostly with virtues and vices. Valerius describes the virtues and how they may be made the subject of sermons. Praise and blame will sometimes apply also to persons. It will be extremely rare, however, to have a preacher praise the living, although funeral orations in praise of the deceased are in order, as witness the precedent of Saint Gregory Nazianzen's panegyrics of Saints Athanasius, Basil, and others. *Topoi* or talking points for these panegyrics are native land, parents, ancestors, divine omens attend-

ing the birth of the great man, oracles about his future achievements, and the other formalized themes which were part of the lore of epideictic oratory and which are familiar to priests from the second nocturns of festal offices in the breviary. Amplification, which is the use of language to give an audience a full and vivid realization of the importance of some point in the discourse, or of its unimportance, if that is the preacher's trend, has a place in demonstrative as well as in deliberative preaching. It is employed quite differently, however, by the preacher and by the secular orator. The essential difference is that the secular orator sometimes amplifies in order to give his point an air of importance which it does not really deserve; the preacher, on the contrary, handles material of such intrinsic importance that he need never aim to create false impressions. His aim and achievement will rather be to enable his hearers to gain a true and objective appreciation of the matters he discusses. These are so important in their own right that his art is only to bring out the fullness of their grandeur and sublimity.

Judicial oratory, the third of Aristotle's three categories of rhetorical activity, is of little or no use to the preacher. It is the rhetoric of accusation and defense. The Church Fathers seem to have had little occasion for it, Valerius points out, and the reason lies in the nature of preaching itself, for, while the preacher may employ techniques from judicial oratory in speaking of virtue and vice, this activity will always remain outside the demonstrative genus of oratory, since it will always lack what is essential to a judicial process: namely, an accused person, an attorney for defense, and a judge. Except for the few situations in which accusation may be needed, as when doctrinal innovators are arraigned in a Church council, ecclesiastical rhetoric may dispense with the precepts of the judicial type of oratory and be content with the two remaining types: deliberative or persuasive preaching, and demonstrative preaching or panegyric.

Every art has its proper tools, and so does the art of ecclesiastical rhetoric. These, says Valerius, lie both within the art itself and outside of it. That is to say, some sources of material are found in rhetorical technique and principle, applying to all rhetorical situations, while other sources come ready to hand in the particular subject and occasion, and are independent of rhetorical theory. It is with the preacher in the pulpit as with the lawyer in court. Some of the elements of victory in litigation are the testimony of wit-

nesses, the wording of a law in question, the legal precedents and interpretations. All of these factors vary from case to case and lie outside of a theory of forensic rhetoric as such. Call them, therefore, nontechnical elements of persuasion. On the other hand, the pleader's *ethos* or manner of impressing the court with his own competence, integrity, and good will; his use of *pathos* or audience analysis and the emotional appeal based upon it; his skill at *logos* or the logical and persuasive marshalling of evidence—these are what the advocate himself brings to every case he pleads. They lie within the art of skillful pleading. Call them, therefore, technical elements of persuasion. Now the technical elements of persuasion in preaching, as in all rhetoric, are to establish in the audience a sense of the preacher's competence and benevolence, to bring the audience's feelings or emotions over to the side of faith and virtue, and to present evidence in such a way as to convince them firmly of the logic and cogency of the preacher's point. These three technical elements are respectively the *ethos, pathos,* and *logos* of Aristotle's rhetoric.

Tools of logical conviction are the enthymeme and example, corresponding to deductive and inductive reasoning. Enthymemes are rhetorical syllogisms, short and popular arguments drawn from the principles of the case or from signs certain or probable. Examples have the force of single or cumulative induction. The use of examples is a powerful device, but the sad experience of former centuries, Valerius warns, shows that the *exemplum* can be abused. The former decay of preaching should be a lesson to the preacher to choose only examples which are true, grave, and dignified.

Topoi or talking points which may be checked off in the preparation of a sermon for the material they may suggest to the preacher are both common or general and special or particular. The commonplaces or general talking points in preaching are the usual ones of classical rhetoric: definition, enumeration, etymology, conjugates, genus and species, similarity, dissimilarity, contraries, adjuncts, antecedents, consequences, contradictories, the causes, etc., to each of which Valerius gives a chapter. Non-technical or particular or special *topoi* for the preacher are Holy Scripture, Apostolic Tradition, ecclesiastical authority, papal authority, Councils, Church Fathers, History, and Philosophy, to each of which, again, a chapter is given. With this discussion of the *topoi* Valerius ends *Book One.*

Book Two consists of the doctrine of stirring the emotions in preaching, in an effort to bring them over to the preacher's side. The emotions are not diseases of the soul, as the Stoics claimed. Neither are they, as Aristotle taught, something in between virtues and vices. When properly directed they very closely resemble virtues; when misdirected they become the sources of all manner of vice. The preacher must therefore know how to analyze an audience, how to reckon with its feelings and to enlist these feelings in the pursuit of his objective. After this much preface, Valerius proceeds to discuss the feelings to be aroused, and the different types of audience that make it more or less difficult to arouse them. This discussion is the burden of *Book Two*.

Book Three is on style, with token treatment of disposition and delivery. For disposition or speech arrangement, Valerius limits himself to the severely simple state-your-case-and-prove-it which Aristotle had thought sufficient. For delivery he has some lines about its great importance, but he is able to finish with it in a single short chapter. The remaining chapters, the bulk of the third book, are on levels of style and the use of tropes and figures. Chapter Eleven clearly takes the functional as opposed to the ornamental view of style, and is valuable for touching on the chief points of the theory of the three levels of style taken over by Saint Augustine from the Roman rhetoricians and now combined by Valerius with the functional use of tropes and figures. Further chapters developing these ideas of style bring *Book Three* and the entire work to a close.

The content of Valerius' work, permeated by the spirit of the Tridentine reform, and employing Aristotle's rhetorical theory as a vehicle for this reform, is enough to establish its importance in the history of homiletics; equally significant, however, is the authorship of this work and its adoption as a seminary textbook. In his second lecture to his seminarians about his forthcoming book, Valerius discusses the question of its origin.

> Of the author of this *Ecclesiastical Rhetoric* what shall I say, since in all truth it is not easy to determine who is its author. I shall explain in a few words how the matter stands. The work is neither mine nor is it not mine. Charles Cardinal Borromeo, of whom it is permissible to say a few words since he is not present, is a man endowed with the

greatest piety towards God, a man given by God in these times to the Church in order to restore it to its pristine glory. This great man, who thinks of nothing else but how to improve the glorious church of Milan and who never ceases to excite the other bishops, all of whom he embraces in a kind of fraternal affection, to the same zeal, so that he may well be called the goad of the Italian bishops—this great man, I say, was the first to think of this ecclesiastical rhetoric. I candidly admit that at first I was somewhat reluctant and I opposed his opinion. I have sketched out the work, however, and, as far as my many occupations allowed, have labored on it for some months. Friar Jerome Vielmius, a Dominican Bishop whom I once had for a teacher in Rome when he was a renowned professor of theology there, will be able to help very much on the draft I have made of the work, such is his varied learning and his kindness towards me. Some of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus (which Society, my sons, no one would be wrong to consider the flower of the Church and a holy academy of judgment and sound learning) will assist the work. And men occupied in the study of Holy Writ and the reading of the Fathers will supply what I, distracted by much work and various duties, cannot provide. The very generous Cardinal, who is, so to speak, the father of ecclesiastical rhetoric, will see to it that learned men who are versed in sacred eloquence, whom he supports and encourages, will bring their labor and industry to bear in perfecting this work. My sons, if you think that this work, when it is finished, will be the work of Cardinal Borromeo, think then that its author is the Holy Spirit; for, as many indications show, that man of God is led by the Holy Spirit.

This single quotation, prescinding from the full evidence which corroborates it, is enough to show that the work under discussion was not the product of a single author working in isolation. It is enough to show also that a number of leaders in the Counter Reformation and the restoration of preaching endorsed the principle of basing homiletic theory on the foundation of classical rhetoric. The adoption of a textbook based on such a principle must have had a great impact on the history of homiletic theory and training in the new Tridentine seminaries. This estimate is borne out by the fact that eight editions of Valerius are said to have been published during his own lifetime. Meanwhile there appeared what came to be considered a companion volume to Valerius, although not so intended by its author: the homiletic manual published in 1576 by Luis of Granada.

Friar Luis of Granada (1505-1588) was one of the most illustrious Dominicans of his age. His ascetical writings had been translated into the chief European languages almost as soon as they appeared, and they remain today among the acknowledged classics of Spanish literature. He was known also as an outstanding preacher, and, with Luis de Leon, was one of the few Spanish preachers to rise above the general mediocrity of the Spanish pulpit in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His merits were so well appreciated that he was offered more than one bishopric, and Pope Sixtus V wished to make him a cardinal. Somehow the devout Dominican succeeded in escaping all these proffered honors, which are nevertheless of value to us as evidence of the esteem in which he was held. If we wish to add praise from an authority in homiletic theory, it is enough to say that the seventeenth century Jesuit critic, René Rapin, in his lectures on sacred eloquence, held up Luis of Granada as the very model of a preacher.

In the Veronese edition of 1732, the treatise of Luis of Granada takes 258 pages, in comparison with the 151 pages of the work by Valerius published with it. It is therefore very roughly twice the size, and, in fact, divides its material into six books in comparison with Valerius' three. The basis of the present examination of Granada's theory, however, is not the Veronese edition, but the Cologne edition of 1578, which is a handy volume of 453 pages in a format no larger than a medium-sized breviary.[4] As indicated above, the viewpoint as well as the bulk of the Spaniard's treatise differed from that of his Italian contemporary. In his preface Luis clearly states his major interest in style and delivery.

> The tasks of a good preacher are chiefly three: invention, style, and delivery . . . Considering the nature of the thing, the invention of great thoughts is the loftiest of the three. The preacher's whole life is dedicated to it, since he must constantly be adding to the material he has already discovered. Considering the condition of audiences, however, meaning the people's inexperience and lack of formation, then style and delivery are more important. . . . It is of no avail to be skillful in invention and style but come off poorly in delivery . . . Just as the philosophers assign two forms to matter, one giving it

[4] Lodovici Granatensis, *Ecclesiasticae Rhetoricae sive de ratione concionandi libri sex* (Cologne, 1578). The volume in hand is among the holdings of the seminary of Saint Charles Borromeo, Overbrook, Pa.

essence and the other existence (which is considered the ultimate perfection of being), so invention is the matter, style is its first form, and its ultimate form is delivery.

He goes on to say that he is amazed that other writers give so much attention to invention while they neglect style and delivery, since the most excellent matter without these forms is easily despised by the people. It is therefore to supply a theory of style and delivery that he undertakes to compose his treatise on sacred rhetoric.

In the first of six books, taking about forty pages of the 453, Luis of Granada discusses the usefulness and necessity of an ecclesiastical rhetoric, the office and dignity of preaching, its inherent difficulty, and the spiritual and intellectual qualities requisite for its proper performance. In Chapter Two of *Book One* he places himself squarely in the classical tradition.

Why should rhetoric, that is, the art of speaking well, which has been thought out by Aristotle, the sovereign of all the sciences, and by other very wise men with consummate judgment, and has been enlarged and enriched by the additions of many successors—why should this rhetoric not be accommodated to the office of preaching? If those who are engaged in the study of philosophy and theology first acquire the art of dialectic so that, being instructed in its precepts, they may be able to argue and to answer arguments and to convince others by their speaking, then rhetoric is not less to be studied, since it is an art by which we are able to persuade people to do what we want them to do; that is, it not only enables us to speak in such a way as to convince the people that what we say is true, but (a much harder thing) it enables us to get them to carry out in practice what they have been convinced is true and honest. If no one can get along in philosophical and theological disputation without being adept at the art of debate, then scarcely anyone, unless inspired by the Holy Ghost, which was the case with the Prophets and Apostles, or born with a most happy genius for public speaking, which happens very rarely, can be successful in preaching without a grasp of this art. To say the least, he who is aided by diligent study of this art will carry out the office of preaching much more skillfully and to much greater advantage. Not without reason, therefore, is the negligence of many preachers to be blamed who, without a grasp of this art, undertake the office of preaching. For I am convinced that it is most reprehensible to carry on this great activity, the most necessary in the Church and the most difficult of all, with no theory or training in speaking.

In Book Two, covering pages forty-one to one-hundred-sixteen, methods of proof and argumentation are considered. After defining rhetoric, with Quintilian, as "the method of speaking well," and showing its difference from dialectic, Luis of Granada states that all oratory revolves around three activities, that of explaining, arguing, and amplifying. This triple distinction is basic to the material of Books Three and Four, which complete his discussion of *inventio*. The opening paragraph of Book Two, Chapter Three, states that "all men when speaking, are either simply explaining, or they are proving and disproving, or they are amplifying some matter in an effort to excite emotion. We *explain* in simple discourse or historical narration our thinking on some topic or a description of what has been done or can be done. We *prove* with reasons and arguments by which we try to obtain belief in doubtful matters. We *amplify* when, by a fuller type of discourse, declaring the matter to be the greatest of its kind, we excite anger, pity, sadness, hatred, love, hope, fear, wonder, or some other emotion in the heart of the hearer."

In the following chapters of Book Two, the famous Dominican deals with the formal *topoi* of invention: intrinsic and extrinsic; and with the forms of argumentation: induction and deduction. He then takes up the question of the embellishment of argumentation with stylistic devices, such as the expression of emotion at various points in the discourse, accommodation or descent to particulars, and the use of *sententiae* and *epiphonemata,* which he explains as pithy sayings or axioms which sum up in a word the burden of the preceding proof or explanation. The final chapter of Book Two treats of the style of expression which is appropriate to argument.

> It is obvious that the style must be distinct and clear and employ words in their literal meanings. But if the material is of greater import, I think that no embellishment should be withheld which does not obscure the sense, for figurative language often makes a matter clearer. . . . Furthermore, what is somewhat dry or harsh by nature must be seasoned by a pleasing style; the pleasure which the audience thereby derives is a great aid to persuasion.

With the first two of the three elements of speaking, namely exposition and proof, now behind him, the author devotes his Book Three to amplification and persuasion. He begins by pointing out the difference between amplification and argumentation.

We would like to distinguish amplification, which, of course, is part of invention, from argumentation and methods of proof, of which we have so far been speaking. Not that they are distinct in all points, but that argumentation is common to every type of question in which we inquire whether a thing is or is not, what it is, what qualities it has, why it is so, and many similar questions. Amplification, on the contrary, is restricted to certain types of questions and propositions, in which we are concerned only with the breadth and importance of the matter. This is when we are trying to show that something is a great disgrace, a calamity, a matter of great joy or sorrow, something to be feared or hoped for, etc. In this way we set out to excite the emotions, to persuade or dissuade, to praise or to blame; for it is to these three ends that the nature of amplification is chiefly adapted. Therefore, amplification is, so to speak, a special form of argumentation.

In succeeding chapters sources of amplification are explained, with extensive quotations from Quintilian and many examples from the writings of Saint Gregory of Nyssa, the Prophet Jeremias, and Saint Jerome. Those elements of figurative language which are particularly adapted to amplification, such as *descriptio, sermocinatio, conformatio, exclamatio, apostrophe, hyperbole, interrogatio, obsecratio, adiuratio,* and *optatio,* are anticipated here from the discussion of the classical doctrine of style in Book Five.

In Book Four the discussion moves from *inventio* to *dispositio.* Luis of Granada differs from his contemporary, Augustinus Valerius, who had rejected the Ciceronian enumeration of six parts of a speech in favor of Aristotle's simple statement-and-proof. But, in endorsing the six-part Ciceronian disposition, the experienced Dominican preacher makes the reservation that a disposition elaborated by Roman rhetoric for the senate and the forum could not in every respect be adapted to the pulpit. Therefore, after explaining in detail the classical theory of *exordium, narration, proposition, confirmation, confutation,* and *peroration,* he discusses the adaptation of this arrangement to five types of preaching. In the first type, persuasive preaching, there will be an exordium calculated to render the audience attentive and to convince them of the necessity or usefulness of the sermon topic. For narration, however, there will be little place in persuasive preaching, although there must be a statement of the proposition and its division. On this score the author has a complaint to make.

Preachers often make the great mistake of not explaining to their hearers at the outset the scope of the sermon, and, when this is not done, hardly anyone can follow the trend of the discourse and what the preacher is trying to do. For this reason the listener remains doubtful and uncertain and does not follow what can be gathered from the instruction. The purpose, therefore, should be stated before anything else, so that the audience may plainly see the target at which all the darts of proofs and arguments are aimed.

Having stated his proposition, the preacher in a persuasive sermon must prove his point and answer objections that may be raised against it. This constitutes the fourth and fifth parts of classical disposition: namely, confirmation and confutation. Finally, the preacher will employ a peroration to sum up his arguments and to excite the emotion necessary to carry the conviction of the audience forward into appropriate action.

The second type of preaching is the rhetoric of praise and blame, the demonstrative type defined by Aristotle and suitable for sermons on the feasts of saints. The third type is based on a narrative from the Gospels. The fourth type of preaching is composed of elements found in the preceding three, and is exemplified chiefly in the sermons of Saint Chrysostom. These will be made up of two parts, one consisting of an explanation of some passage in the Gospel, the other consisting of a moral treatment in the persuasive style. A fifth and final type of preaching is the didascalic, or the preaching of simple instruction, in which the purpose is not to move the listeners to action, but simply to make clear some point of doctrine.

In Book Five the author comes to the third part of the five-fold canon of classical rhetoric, *elocutio* or style. He had said in his preface that, while invention and disposition are of great importance, style and delivery were uppermost in his mind in undertaking to write a sacred rhetoric. In his treatment of style, he follows step by step the doctrine of Quintilian, working always from a view of the practical rather than the aesthetic purpose of figurative expression. What he borrows from Quintilian he reinforces from Saint Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* and illustrates with quotations from the sermons of Saint Augustine, Saint Cyprian, and Saint Ambrose. This fifth book, on style, is the longest of the six, and, if we add to this the fact that much of its material was anticipated

in the second and third books on invention, we realize that the author has carried out his original design of making style and delivery the chief elements of his homiletic treatise, and by so doing has placed his work in contrast to that of Valerius.

Book Six is on *pronunciatio* or delivery. Of delivery Granada says that it is the most important thing in speaking, without which even the greatest preacher in other respects can have no success, while a mediocre preacher with a good delivery can often achieve wonders.

The first eight chapters on delivery expound a theory which stands midway between the extreme mechanical approach, by which stance and gesture are taught almost independently of their motivating force, and the other extreme position of the think-the-thought school, by which one concentrates on meaning only, devoutly hoping that voice and action will take care of themselves. The author insists at once that the whole purpose of theory and training in delivery is to achieve naturalness. He remembers listening once to a novice preacher whose delivery was a total failure. Walking home from the church he then came upon two old women in an animated argument. Their inflections were perfect, their gestures expressed their meaning with the utmost clarity and emphasis. So, he then reflected, does nature teach us eloquent delivery. The purpose of training is to show us how to imitate nature and remove the inhibitions that prevent our being natural. The doctrine of these eight chapters of Book Six are drawn from Quintilian, much of the text consisting of long quotations from his writings.

In Chapter Nine of this sixth book the author undertakes to give examples of the various *figurae vocis*, which the preacher will use especially in amplification to excite emotion. He illustrates them with passages from the Bible and the writings of the Fathers. *Optatio, imprecatio, bone precatio* (sic), *obsecratio, conquestio, comminatio, indignatio, admiratio, ironia, praecisio, asseveratio, adiuratio, adhortatio, castigatio, exclamatio, apostrophe, interrogatio, sermocinatio, repetitio, conversio, complectio, conduplicatio, correctio, dubitatio, ratiocinatio,* and *subiectio* are the *figurae vocis* for which the author finds illustrations chiefly in the Bible. Rather say they are figures of thought which demand corresponding vocal usage to express their full content. Here Luis of Granada, almost at the close of his work, lays the foundation for a course in oral interpretation.

Summing up the opinion of later scholars on the work of Granada, Gilbert writes in the early eighteenth century: "In a word it is a truly Christian rhetoric, which is both well planned and well executed, and in which the mysteries of the art are disclosed and set forth in such a beautiful light that one can truly say that the future of sacred eloquence is happy in this respect: that the man who in practice raised it to its highest pitch has also himself undertaken to teach it."[5] Granada's contemporaries must have felt the same about his book, for it was an immediate success and went through numerous editions. When the Master General of the Dominicans requested the Dominician theologian Natalis Alexander, on the threshhold of the eighteenth century, to write a homiletic manual for future preachers of his Order, Alexander based his work on the Borromean tradition. In a letter to the Master General which is printed at the beginning of his *Institutio Concionatorum* published in 1701, he writes: "I have obeyed your request by setting down the precepts of the Fathers, and those handed on by Saint Charles Borromeo in his *Instructiones Praedicationis Verbi Dei.*"[6] He then recommends at the beginning of his tract that if any Dominican students are still in need of rhetorical instruction when they enter the Order, they should be given the *Rhetorica Ecclesiastica* of Luis of Granada.[7] Equally significant, if not more so, is the fact that the Jesuit Cardinal, Saint Robert Bellarmine, writing his brief *De Ratione Formandae Concionis,* recommended Valerius and Luis of Granada, together with Didacus Stella and Alphonsus Zorilla, as outstanding texts on homiletic theory.[8] Again, from another land and time, M. Hamon, the scholarly Sulpician whose *Traité de la Prédication* was a standard text in French seminaries in the nineteenth century, lists Valerius and Granada among his choice sources.[9]

From these indications and many others, such as the large number of editions and many translations of these works, we may conclude

[5] Balthasar Gilbert, *Jugemens des savans sur les auteurs qui ont traité de la rhétorique* (suite des jugemens des savans de M. Baillet), (Amsterdam, 1725), VIII, 204.

[6] Natalis Alexander, *Institutio concionatorum* (Delft, 1701), p. iii.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[8] S. Robertus Card. Bellarmine, *Opera Oratoria Postuma* ("Societatis Iesu Selecti Scriptores"; Rome: Univ. Greg., 1942), I, 149.

[9] M. Hamon, *Traité de la prédication a l'usage des séminaires,* 2d ed., (Paris: Lecoffre, 1849), pp. xiii and xiv.

that the two treatises here studied were among the most successful works of the post-Tridentine period. They may also be considered typical of the remarkably uniform theory published in those decades. The two main bases of the new homiletics were a reaction to the preaching abuses which had preceded and partly caused the Reformation, and an acknowledged desire to appropriate the successful theories of classical rhetoric for preaching. In this latter respect the new homiletic literature was a departure from the texts of the Middle Ages. While medieval treatises were long on pious and devout reflections but short on practical principles, the new tracts were full courses in sacred rhetoric. One commentator thinks that this change was due to the example of Erasmus, who in his last years had published at Basel in 1535 a lengthy homiletic treatise entitled *Ecclesiastes sive de ratione concionandi libri quinque.* "If the Italian rhetoricians never quote this work," this writer maintains, "this is not proof that they were not inspired by it."[10] Admittedly the argument from silence is a weak one, and the point is given plausibility by Erasmus' wide prestige and scholarly leadership, but one can with at least equal probability point to Saint Augustine, whom the Italian rhetoricians did quote, as a prototype, since it was he who set the precedent for what was the main principle of the new homiletics: the adoption of classical rhetoric as a basis for the theory of preaching. But considering the historical milieu in which these treatises were written it is clear that there is no need to look for a prototype at all. The search for ancient manuscripts by zealous Renaissance humanists had uncovered Aristotle's *Rhetoric,* the better works of Cicero, and better copies of Quintilian. The triumvirate of classical rhetoric was never more alive than in the early sixteenth century, when the men who were to write the new homiletics texts after Trent were sitting on school benches hearing for the first time the names of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. What was more natural in later years than for scholars alive to the learning of their age, and having at their disposal these *chefs-d'oeuvre* of antiquity, to sense the great value of classical rhetorical theory when they filled their inkpots and trimmed their quills for the task of composing treatises on preaching? The aim was "to take the spoils of Egypt for the service of the Lord of Israel," and if, as some maintain, their taste in plunder was not unfailing, no one can

[10] Dejob, *op. cit.,* 119.

deny that in the main the booty served well the cause of preaching reform. In fact, their success in providing for the new seminaries a sound, scholarly, and functional theory of preaching leads to speculation about the possible reasons why in modern homiletic literature the outline and content of classical rhetoric seem largely to have been abandoned. Perhaps many reasons can be offered, or perhaps the reason is merely that the appreciation of classical rhetoric is a lost tradition.

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THE PROGRAM FOR THE LOURDES MARIOLOGICAL CONGRESS

In honor of the centenary of the apparitions of our Blessed Mother at Lourdes, the third Mariological and the tenth International Marian Congress will be held at Lourdes in September of 1958. The general theme of the congress will be Our Lady and the Church. The leading theologians from all parts of the world will assemble for this congress. In order that the congress be successful and that it avoid repetition of subjects already discussed, a conspectus of topics has been drawn up under the direction of Fr. Charles Balić, O.F.M., consultor of the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, president of the International Marian Academy and organizer of the Marian congress to be held at Lourdes.[1]

Although the subjects drawn up for discussion are for the use of theologians who will attend the congress, yet they have a value for Catholics in general. These subjects would make interesting seminars or special courses in the seminary; they also provide ample material for essays, study club discussions, subjects for debates, open forums and panels.

The clergy will find the conspectus excellent material for sermons and lectures. This conspectus offers material for the different study clubs that exist among the laity. Study clubs among the laity would be an excellent way of getting the laity to participate in the Lourdes' celebration, for the congress is a part of the centennial celebrations.

It would be profitable to recall that Pope Pius XII in an address to the Mariological congress held in Rome in 1954 stated that it was his hope that one of the fruits of the Marian year would be a more profound study of the unique dignity of the Mother of God and her privileges and a clearer presentation of these to the Christian people. The Holy Father shows here his interest in the study of Mariology and his desire that the faithful be instructed in this field. The following conspectus offers material for instructing the faithful concerning our Blessed Mother and her position in the Church.

[1] Information for this article is based on the conspectus of the Congress under the title "Maria et Ecclesia" in *Antonianum*, April, 1957, pp. 261-270, and a companion study in *Marianum*, 1956 Fasc. II, pp. 232 ff.

The general theme of the congress has been divided into the following parts: the parallelism between Mary and the Church; the cooperation of Mary and the Church in the Redemption of Christ; the Queenship of Mary in the Church; the relation of Mary to the hierarchical and spiritual Priesthood. There will be further discussion concerning Mary and the Eucharistic life of the Church; Mary and the propagation and consolidation of the Church; Mary and the unity of the Church; Mary and the apostolate of the Church; the importance of Marian apparitions in the Church; and finally there will be a discussion of the cultus of Mary in the liturgy and in religious art with emphasis on the parallel between Mary and the Church.

MARY AND THE CHURCH IN SCRIPTURE

In considering Mary's position in the Church and the parallelism between her and the Church the first thing to do is to examine Sacred Scripture in this matter. Are there any places in Scripture that speak at the same time of Mary and the Church in a literal sense as one complete object or two objects intimately connected? Is there any text in the Old Testament examined in the light of the New Testament which can refer to our Blessed Mother?

The congress wants to consider in particular the Protoevangelium, the 12th and 13th chapters of the Apocalypse and the 25th verse of the 29th chapter of the Gospel of St. John. These will be considered according to traditional exegesis and the liturgy, always keeping in mind the various studies that have been made on these texts. The purpose is to determine what is the foundation in Scripture for establishing the relation between Mary and the Church. The congress wishes also to examine any scriptural text which throws light upon the nature and properties of this relationship.

MARY AND THE CHURCH ACCORDING TO THE FATHERS

There will be a discussion of the value of the parallelism of Mary and the Church according to the Fathers. Many questions have been proposed concerning the treatment of Our Lady according to the Fathers.

Do the Fathers proceed from Mary to the Church, or from the Church to Mary? Do they identify Mary with the Church or find

the personification of the Church in Our Lady? In this respect does the process of establishing the relation of Mary and the Church differ according to each individual Father and especially between the Fathers of the East and West? Do the Fathers call Mary a type, an image, or a symbol of the Church? What do they mean by type, member, image, figure and symbol when comparing Our Lady to the Church?

Can the patristic theory of "Recapitulation" or "Recirculation" be taken as a true theological basis in Mariology for establishing the prerogatives of Our Lady? If it can be taken in this way, would the comparison of Eve and Mary be more fruitful for Mariology than the relation between Mary and the Church?

The congress would like to examine the mind of the Fathers concerning Mary's part in the acquisition of grace. Does Mary have such a place in the Church that she exercises an efficient causality in the acquisition of grace?

MARY AND THE CHURCH ACCORDING TO THEOLOGIANS

Perhaps the largest section set aside for discussion is the importance of the relation between Mary and the Church according to the theologians. The conspectus states that in general most theologians today say that Mary occupies a special place in the Church; that there is an essential difference between the spiritual maternity of Mary and the maternity of the Church so that the maternity of Mary is more excellent than that of the Church. Most admit also that Mary is the Mother of the Church itself and her action is not limited to the distribution of graces, but extends also to the acquisition of graces.

However, when there is question of a further explanation of these statements and when there is question of admitting that Mary exercises a true influence and a meritorious efficient causality in the work of objective redemption, many divergencies are found. In order to solve the questions properly, it is necessary to examine the historical and speculative aspect of the problems. With this in mind the congress proposes the following points for consideration.

The works of the theologians of the medieval and modern times are to be examined. Also to be considered are the writings of the scholastic theologians who wrote at the time of the councils of

Basle and Trent. The congress plans to consider the testimony of the Byzantine-Slavic literature along with the testimony of the liturgy of the West and East, especially from hymnology.

Since, according to theologians, the parallelism between Mary and the Church depends not only on the mystery of the Maternity, but also on her Immaculate Conception, stainless life, her fiat and glorification in body and soul, all these must be kept in mind in explaining how Mary is the type of the Church.

Another point which calls for special consideration is the relation between Mary's fiat at the Annunciation and her place on Calvary. Did Mary realize when she freely consented that her Son was God and would suffer and die for the salvation of all? Is the Incarnation redemptive in such a way that the death of Christ constitutes its summation?

In order to find the proper place that Our Lady occupies in the Church the congress wishes to determine the exact significance of the word "Church." It wishes also to compare Mary's Maternity, Virginity and Sanctity together with that of the Church.

QUEENSHIP OF MARY AND THE CHURCH

Concerning the Queenship of Mary the following question is proposed: Does the Queenship of Mary, although different from the Kingship of Christ and different from that of a king and queen in this world, include not only a special dignity, but also some unique authority or domination? Another problem in this regard is to establish accurately the foundation of Mary's Queenship.

In answering this question, the encyclical *Ad Caeli Reginam* should be kept in mind. The conspectus also calls attention to the following points: on the negative side, the power of order, jurisdiction and public *dominium* is excluded. But on the positive side, it cannot be forgotten that Mary exercises an efficacious influence in the hearts, minds and wills of men.

Another point for consideration is Mary, the Church and the Priesthood. Mary is often given a sacerdotal character. How precisely can Mary in her Priesthood be called a type of the Church or the Church in its Priesthood be called a type of Mary? What is the relation between the sacerdotal character of the Church and Mary?

As regards the Eucharist, since the relationship between Mary and the Eucharist has its foundation in the Incarnation and Divine Maternity, what can be drawn from this concerning Mary's mission in the Church? In what way is Mary a remedy against the error of symbolism?

MARY'S INFLUENCE IN THE PROPAGATION OF THE CHURCH

Critical investigation concerning the liturgical antiphon *"Gaude, Maria Virgo, cunctas haereses sola intermisti in universo mundo,"* shows that the words *"in universo mundo"* were not in the original form. The original context was in a sermon concerning the Virginity of Our Lady. But since this antiphon including the words *"in universo mundo"* is found in the Roman Breviary and in the oldest feasts of Our Lady, it will be profitable to examine the exact historical and dogmatic sense of this antiphon. What were the various commentaries on this in the early Church? How have theologians and the teaching magisterium in general interpreted this antiphon?

Can it be deduced from history and speculative theology that the Divine Maternity contains in itself the essence of Christianity in such a degree that he who rejects Mary rejects Christianity?

Since in Christian tradition Mary is often called the "Mother of the Restored," "Mother of the Elect," "Mother and Illuminatrix of Contemplatives," the congress wishes to examine the foundation for this action in souls. What is the nature of the presence of Mary in souls? In what measure did the Saints, especially those who were founders of religious orders, experience the presence and influence of Mary?

In the encyclical *Rerum Ecclesiae,* Pius XI wrote: "May Mary, the Most Holy Queen of Apostles, graciously look down with favor upon this our common undertaking, that the selfsame Mary, who, since she keeps within her motherly heart all men committed to her protection on Calvary, cherishes and loves not only those whose fortune it is to enjoy the fruits of redemption, but all those others likewise who do not yet know that they have been redeemed by Jesus Christ." Keeping this in mind, the congress wishes to consider several questions.

In what sense can Mary, who is the Mother of the Church and of Christians, be called the Mother of Infidels? What is to be said

about the method of some missionaries who use an image of Mary instead of a Crucifix (which repels pagans) so that they might more easily lead infidels to the Catholic Church?

Since Mary was present with the Apostles on the first Pentecost and therefore she is called the Teacher of the Apostles and the Mother of the Clergy, what is the relation between Mary and Catholic Action in general?

Can devotion to Mary be called an effective means for determining the true Christian life of a parish or nation? How can the contemplation of the mysteries of Mary help the Orientals separated from the Church recognize the true image of the Mystical Body? In what way can the examination of the Church bring Protestants to a true understanding of Mary's position?

APPARITIONS OF OUR LADY AND THEIR IMPORTANCE IN THE CHURCH

The congress wishes to establish a criterion by which true apparitions from false ones, certain from the probable can be discerned. This criterion must be in accord with investigations of diocesan commissions and the statements of bishops and popes. The congress intends also to examine the criteria proposed by learned men for judging apparitions and revelations of Our Lady.

Since the divine will manifests itself to men in many ways either by revelation or through the ordinary providence, it is necessary to proceed carefully in judging apparitions and sanctuaries. It is necessary to inquire in what way superstition can prudently be done away with and the legitimate devotion of the faithful for shrines can be encouraged more and more.

THE CULTUS OF MARY

There are some who say that there is a radical discrepancy between devotion to Mary in this age and that of the middle ages and early centuries of the Church. Since some also say that devotion to Mary is something free and optional, it will help to examine the cultus of Our Lady in its foundation.

What is the relation between the Marian devotion of today and the words of the Gospel, "of whom Jesus was born" and the words of the Creed, "born of the Virgin Mary"? What is to be said of

the words "Mother of the Lord," and "All generations shall call me blessed"? How were these words treated in early Christian sermons and liturgy? What is the relation between devotion practiced today and that narrated in the apocryphal books, especially the pseudo-gospel of James, and the writings and iconography of the early centuries?

What is the relation between devotion to Our Lady in general and the part which the "Associate of Christ the Redeemer" has in the acquisition and distribution of all graces?

Another important question which the congress wishes to consider is the historical development of devotion to our Blessed Mother. Beginning with the total mystery of Christ including the Blessed Virgin as mother and associate, did the person of Christ and His humanity along with the Blessed Virgin obtain a special cultus together? Putting the question in another way: was Mary, as a type of the Church in the first centuries of Christianity, the object of public veneration along with Christ in such a way that the cultus of Mary followed the combined cultus of Jesus and Mary?

Another point for consideration is the significance of the pilgrimages, congresses and public Marian celebrations and the interpretation of the words of the Gospel, "Where two or three are gathered in my name, I am in the midst of them."

TITLES OF OUR LADY

In past centuries theologians and ecclesiastical writers have designated by various titles the place which Mary occupies in the Church and her relation with the Eucharist, the Priesthood, and her cooperation in the acquisition and distribution of graces. Since confusion often arises in this regard and since terms used in preaching to the people are often repeated, it is necessary to have great care in using terms of this kind. Therefore attention is called to the following points.

The part which Mary occupies in the Church has been designated in different ways. The same can be said of her role in the distribution and acquisition of graces, although today the word "Coredemptrix" is commonly used. Certainly many titles are legitimate, but if possible, it would be better to select one term more technical and useful (e.g., Associate of Christ). It should be remembered that

Pius XII in *Munificentissimus Deus* and in his encyclical letter *Ad Caeli Reginam,* for example, used the term "Associate of Christ the Redeemer" *(Socia Christi Redemptoris).*

Some call the spiritual maternity of Mary a supernatural maternity, others call it a human maternity. Admitting that in 1908 the Sacred Congregation of the Index did not absolutely prohibit the title of human maternity, the congress would like to examine whether it would be more convenient to avoid this ambiguous title.

In speaking about the Priesthood of Our Lady some use the terms hyper-priesthood, superpriesthood, archpriesthood, etc. In these and other similar titles it would be of profit to control imagination and poetic extremes by taking a common sense view of the essentials. Since Mary by her Divine Maternity is above the sacramental Priesthood, what is the reason for using the word superpriesthood in order to extol this special dignity?

* * * * *

The conspectus concludes with the thought that it would be an illusion to think that all the problems which have been or could be stated concerning the mystery of Mary and the Church will be solved at Lourdes. Nevertheless it will be profitable to consider the ideas of many theologians. In this way the different aspects which each one sees hidden in the mystery of Mary can be shared and mutually compared. If possible, the congress can establish and determine at least a small part of that which is to be granted to the Associate of Christ the Redeemer concerning her part in the acquisition of the treasury of graces by which we were redeemed and the place she occupies in the Church which is the Mystical Body of Christ. At the same time the Congress will open the way for future investigations in the field of Mariology.

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THE BLOOD AND WATER FROM THE SIDE OF CHRIST

For centuries the Holy Shroud was reputed to be the cloth which covered the body of Christ during its repose in the Sepulchre. It remained for the first photographs made in 1898 to spark the study which has continued down to the present day.

Basically, the facts heretofore established indicate that the cloth is similar to those found in dated graves of the period of the Roman occupation of Palestine. A double, life size image, front and back, of a human body placed head to head is seen on the cloth. Besides, the image bares full evidence of the wounds inflicted on the body covered by the burial cloth and all this in complete accord with the Passion and Death of Christ, as detailed in the Gospel narrative.

The growing literature on the Holy Shroud shows a convincing preponderance of opinion favoring the authenticity of the great relic. At the same time, one must not be surprised that an occasional voice will be raised in objection. Such challenge, however ineffective, is apt to stimulate the re-examination of the evidence, which invariably results, as in this case, in strengthening the position of those who believe the relic is authentic.

An objective study of any phase of the great drama of Redemption cannot be conducted in an atmosphere short of what obtains in a scientific laboratory. This is very difficult, because no one, however cold and calloused, can escape the knowledge of his personal contribution to the sufferings of Him about whom we speak—Our Redeemer. Then, too, one may unwittingly become very complacent should he lure himself into the delusion that this, of all subjects, has been dealt with to a finality.

Our very utmost achievement in a study of the wounds of Christ from the technical point of view cannot, for the nature of things, hope to go beyond the realm of probability. However, even in this sphere, one must remain ever humble and prepared to be corrected.

This study deals only with the flow of blood and water from the side of Christ. Doctor Pierre Barbet and others have taken the

position that the wound inflicted by the lance of the Centurion soon after the death of Christ liberated blood from the heart, and water from the pericardial sac, which envelops the heart. I cannot agree with them.

The question here is not whether the heart of Christ was pierced, rather I propose until more proof is available, to explain the more likely origin of the blood and water and to offer the reasons why I believe as I do.

"No, Saint John saw clearly. What he saw was liquid blood from the auricle (of the heart) and water from the pericardium. I too have seen it." So stated Dr. Pierre Barbet in his "Five Wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ," 1952 (Clonmore and Reynolds Ltd.—Dublin, p. 49). The same statement is repeated in Barbet's "Passion and Death of Our Lord Jesus Christ."

St. John was specific. He did see blood and water when the side of Christ was pierced by the lance. But the Evangelist did neither state nor imply that the blood he saw came from the heart of Jesus. The French Surgeon has no right to assume such an imprimatur by coupling his personal belief with the testimony of the Evangelical Witness.

The most charitable comment evoked by the preceding quotation is, that it is at least very unscientific.

In the early 1930s, Dr. Barbet experimented with bodies which had been dead longer than 24 hours. He plunged a long knife through the right side of the chest to pierce the heart. As blood ran along the knife blade, it was seen emerging from the chest wound. The same observer reported that he saw water on the edge of the blood flow as it "came over the knife blade." Besides, he stated that the knife which pierced the dead lung left a gaping tunnel which facilitated the flow of "blood and water."

Dr. Barbet's claims cannot escape some serious objections:

1. A lung pierced less than 24 hours after death presents no such "tunnel." I have repeatedly passed a knife through the entire lung substance and upon withdrawing it, the sides of the wound promptly came together, leaving only a linear, incised wound without any suggestion of a gaping tunnel.

2. If the blood and water cited by St. John did in fact come from the heart and the pericardial sac in the order stated, such a

sequence is a direct reversal of the mechanics involved. That such an injury would empty first the inner cavity (heart), ahead of the outer sac (pericardium), is beyond understanding. Certain important facts cannot be set aside: In a reported diminished light, St. John saw that *"Immediately* there came Blood and Water"—John 19:33. One has reason to believe that the prompt emergence of the blood and water did not pass through a punctured, spongy lung.

Experimentally, I have filled the pericardial sac of a fresh cadaver with water. When I passed a long knife through the space between the 5th and 6th ribs on the right, it was impossible to avoid piercing the (outer) pericardial sac before wounding the heart. The water in the pericardium gushed out first. This is as it should be, based on the anatomy involved. How could a sac within a sac be pierced without first piercing the outer sac?

Where then did the blood and water come from if their emergence was in the order stated by St. John.

It is an undebatable axiom that when sentimentality or lack of objectivity enter in, the seriousness and value of scientific observations are materially compromised. Let us examine further Dr. Barbet's writings: "Quite obviously, therefore, the blood comes from the heart and could only flow from the heart in such profusion" (p. 45, "The Five Wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ," 1952).

What to me is very obvious as well as tormenting is that this claim has not been challenged since it was first made almost 25 years ago. "All my experiments, of course, were followed by dissection and were done on subjects dead over 24 hours."

Is it scientifically correct to assume that a lung long dead is as resilient as the lung of a cadaver less than 24 hours postmortem? Any pathologist will support the objection I advance.

Had St. John stated that first water then blood issued from the lance wound, I should be obliged to terminate my analysis here.

The point at issue is not at all whether the Sacred Heart was wounded or indeed pierced through. My own experimental observations and analysis indicate that, had the blood come from the heart and water from the pericardial sac, the sequence of their emergence would be reversed in contrast to what St. John explicitly stated.

A long and serious study supplemented by consultation with experts[1] in wounds and diseases of the chest has led me to abide by the following conviction; if my thesis reveals mechanical, anatomical or scriptural error I shall greatly appreciate the correction. Until such be forthcoming I humbly submit that:

The scourging was unquestionably severe. Such a flogging is capable of producing a bloody effusion within the chest, between the rib cage and the lung which is inevitably compressed in the presence of fluid or blood in the space mentioned. (Bloody effusions within the body cavities do not clot.) Because of the weight of blood cells suspended in the effusion, they settle after a time, forming a deep red lower layer and an overlying clear watery fluid. This stratified collection, when evacuated by piercing the chest wall

[1] The most outstanding authority in the United States in the field of injuries and diseases of the chest, Dr. Evarts A. Graham has written on the subject of bloody accumulations in the chest long before this writer ever heard of the Holy Shroud of Turin. In Lewis' *System of Surgery*, Vol. IV, Chapter 10, we read: "Traumatic Haemothorax: This is a very common condition complicating injuries of the chest. . . . Injuries of the lung may be the source of the haemorrhage. The lung may be ruptured by compression or concussion of the chest. . . . in contusion of the chest wall, there is little haemmorhage, but in severe contusion haemothorax is the rule, and the effusion may be large. . . . the amount of blood in the pleural cavity varies within wide limits. There may be only a little blood in the bottom of the pleural sac, or there may be two liters or more. . . . At first the lung floats up on the blood, but as the haemothorax extends, the lower portion of the lung is compressed. . . . Ordinarily the blood in haemothorax remains liquid and does not clot; this is almost always the case in closed haemothorax."

Such expert testimony could not have been more favorable to my thesis had I written it myself as one testifying in his defense! There is no equivocation in the statements of Dr. Graham. Concussion of the thoracic wall can result in a bloody effusion, the effusion may vary from a small volume to as much as two liters, and such accumulations of blood do not clot. This is especially true of closed haemothorax; that is, collections within the thorax without an open wound that would allow the air to come in contact with the blood. There is no question that Our Lord had suffered a very severe concussion of the chest. Every blow of the scourge, in itself not sufficient to penetrate the chest cavity, did, as the Image on the Holy Shroud reveals, produce soft tissue injury the depth of which went well beyond the skin and the muscular covering of the ribs.

Finally let it be recalled that the chests of cadavers pierced by Dr. Barbet were free of any blood in the pleural space. He could therefore obtain nothing from that space under the conditions that obtained in his experiments.

directly opposite the lower layer, cannot avoid being evacuated in the exact sequence testified to by St. John: First blood then water.

Nothing which the Holy Shroud of Turin reveals is in conflict with these observations and conclusions.

A. F. Sava, M.D.

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Fifty Years Ago

The leading article in *The American Ecclesiastical Review* for May, 1908, bears the title "Who are the Modernists of the Encyclical?" The author, Fr. A. Vieban, S.S., essays to demonstrate that certain Catholic writers, notably Loisy and Tyrrell, are certainly included among those whom Pope Pius X condemned in the Encyclical *Pascendi.* He takes to task Dr. C. A. Briggs who asserted in the *North American Review* that the Modernists were opposed only to the scholastic system, not to the Catholic faith. He concludes with the statement that the issue is not "Modernism *versus* Scholasticism," but "Modernism *versus* Catholicism, Christianity and all supernatural religion." . . . An anonymous writer defends the view that converts who are received into the Church with conditional Baptism should make an integral confession and receive absolution conditionally. He argues chiefly from the decisions given by the Holy See to the Bishop of Philadelphia in 1859, to the Bishops of England in 1868 and to the Archbishop of Quebec in 1869. . . . Mr. H. P. Russell, writing from England under the title "A Lesson from Newman," asserts that "no one can study Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* without perceiving that his, in contradistinction to that of the Modernists, is a development presupposing external revelation and proceeding from an original body of revealed truths as a *terminus a quo* by a law according to which all that was first given is preserved and in which the latest product, to be genuine, must have existed in the original germ." . . . Fr. G. Lee, C. S. Sp., defends Newman's idea of "probabilities" which, he contends, are the same as the *motiva credibilitatis* of formal theology. . . . Fr. J. T. McNicholas, O.P., protests against the plan of those who were seeking an exception to the marriage laws of *Ne Temere,* which had just begun to bind. . . . An anonymous contributor expresses the opinion that it is best not to disturb an undertaker through fear that death has not yet taken place when he is about to embalm a body. "On the whole it seems to us advisable to leave the determination of the proper time for beginning the embalming process to such authorities as the physician who gives the death certificate or to other seculars who may be directly responsible."

F.J.C.

Answers to Questions

THE REPOSITORY

Question: In parishes of meager means, where the side altar has an excellent tabernacle with lock, etc., is it still the mind of the Church that a vase-repository must be acquired for Maunday Thursday?

Answer: The vase-repository was not demanded by previous legislation nor is it required by the Holy Week decree of Nov. 16, 1955. The excellent tabernacle of which you speak fully satisfies the requirements in spite of the impression we may gather from the catalogues of eager purveyors of church goods. The recent decree (II, c, 8) repeats almost exactly and makes general reference to the instructions given previously in the rubrics of the Roman Missal for Holy Thursday (*Pro solemni Sacramenti repositione paretur locus aptus in aliquo sacello vel altari Ecclesiae, sicut in Missali romano praescribitur*).

THE PROPER MASS FORMULARY

Question: Among the Masses *pro aliquibus locis* there is one for Saint John Nepomucene (May 16th). May the parishes in the United States which are under the patronage of Saint John Nepomucene use this Mass on the patronal feast or must they use the formulary from the Common *pro uno martyre non pontifice?*

Answer: "The Mass of a Saint given among the Masses for Certain Places may not be used as a votive Mass, except where the feast is celebrated by apostolic indult" (*Matters Liturgical,* n. 254, f.). Since the Mass which you would offer on the patronal feast would be a votive Mass in so far as it would depart from the diocesan calendar, you would have to choose the formulary from the Common *"pro uno martyre non pontifice."* We have an example of the use of a Mass from the M.P.A.L. by reason of an apostolic indult in our present observance of the feast of Saint Isidore the Farmer on March 22nd.

BENEDICTION AND THE SPIRIT OF THE LITURGY

Question 1: In a local chapel where Sisters minister to incurable patients the Blessed Sacrament is reserved habitually. There it is customary to hold private exposition and private Benediction immediately after daily Mass. I know that Canon 1274, 1 tells us that "private exposition, that is with the ciborium, may be held for any good reason, and without the permission of the Ordinary, in churches and oratories authorized to reserve the Blessed Sacrament." But is the daily use of this privilege in harmony with the spirit of the liturgy?

Question 2: According to a decree of the Second Council of Baltimore, public Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament is permitted in all the churches and chapels of religious in the United States on Sundays, holy days of obligation, double feasts of the first and second class, twice a week during Lent, and every day during a Mission. In the light of this decree, is the local chapel where Sisters minister to incurable patients considered as a chapel of religious? Must a list of the times when public Benediction is given be sent to the Ordinary for approval?

Question 3: What is to be said about giving Benediction, public or private, immediately after Holy Mass? In one diocese of my acquaintance, the local Ordinary stated that it is anticlimactical to give Benediction (ordinarily) after Holy Mass; another, when approving the list of times-for-benediction presented to him, indicated that Benediction may not be given after Mass, but that it must be a service distinct from the Mass.

Answer 1: In view of the fact that the members of the congregation you describe have just assisted at the renewal of the Sacrifice of Calvary, with the Sisters and perhaps many others partaking of the sacrificial banquet which is Holy Communion, it would surely seem unnecessary and not at all in accord with the liturgy to add private exposition and Benediction. Although the Holy Father, in *Mediator Dei* (America Press ed., n. 135), wrote: "That practice in a special manner is to be highly praised according to which many exercises of piety, customary with the faithful, end with benediction of the blessed sacrament," he was hardly thinking at this point of a situation such as you describe. In that

situation the Mass, by implication at least, would seem to lose its claim to be "the culmination and center, as it were, of the Christian religion . . . the crowning act of the sacred liturgy" (*Mediator Dei*, n. 66).

Answer 2: The decree of the Second Council of Baltimore to which you refer has been abrogated by Canon 1274 of the Code. In the light of this canon (". . . Public exposition . . . may be held in all churches on the Feast of Corpus Christi and during the octave, both during Mass and at Vespers. At other times, public exposition may be held only for good and serious reasons, especially a public cause, with the permission of the Ordinary, and this permission is required also in the churches of exempt religious organizations"), the status of the local chapel is immaterial. But in view of the same canon, the permission of the Ordinary is required for any public Benediction to be held outside the times specified in the canon. Hence, a list must be submitted for the Ordinary's approval.

Answer 3: The comments made in *Answer 1* with regard to the specific local problem may serve as an answer here also. Occasionally there are circumstances in which, if Benediction is to be given at all, it must be given immediately after Mass, but to have it habitually after Mass discloses a lack of appreciation of what the Mass really is. Heeding the warning of our Holy Father, we must not minimize the value of Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, but we must be even more careful not to minimize the value of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

JOHN P. MCCORMICK, S.S.

THE FAST FOR AN EARLY MASS

Question: When a group of priests were lately discussing the laws of the eucharistic fast, some contended that no matter how early in the morning a priest celebrates Mass, it suffices that he fast from midnight. Is this correct?

Answer: The opinion of these priests is definitely incorrect. The *Motu proprio* "Sacram communionem" of Pope Pius XII, issued

on March 19, 1957, definitely legislates that "priests and faithful, before Holy Mass or Holy Communion, respectively, must abstain for three hours from solid foods and alcoholic beverages, and for one hour from non-alcoholic beverages," and the decree adds explicitly: "From now on, the fast must be observed for the period of time indicated even by those who celebrate or receive Holy Communion at midnight or in the first hours of the day." Accordingly, a priest who intends to celebrate midnight Mass on Christmas must abstain from solid food and alcoholic beverages from nine o'clock of the previous night and from non-alcoholic beverages (except water) from eleven o'clock. A similar computation of three hours or one hour must be used if he celebrates Mass at one or two o'clock in the morning.

THE EASTER MASSES

Question 1: May the blessings of the Easter Vigil service be held on the afternoon of Holy Saturday, so that the night services will be considerably shortened, consisting practically of the Mass alone, which can be begun at midnight?

Question 2: If, in addition to the midnight Mass of the Vigil, a priest celebrates two Masses on Easter Sunday, may he take three stipends by analogy with Christmas?

Answer 1: The rubrics certainly presume that the ceremonies of the Easter Vigil are to be conducted without interruption—blessings, prophecies, Mass, etc. Hence, the procedure suggested by the questioner cannot be permitted.

Answer 2: Church law forbids a priest to receive more than one stipend, no matter how many Masses he may celebrate, on any day except Christmas (Can. 824, § 2). I believe, however, that by a *fictio juris* the Mass of the Easter Vigil can be regarded as celebrated on Saturday, even when it is actually celebrated on Sunday morning, so that the celebrant could take a stipend for this Mass and also a stipend for his Sunday Mass (or fulfill his obligation of the *Missa pro populo*). But if he celebrates a third Mass on Sunday, he cannot accept any compensation, except (if there be sufficient justification) from an extrinsic title.

MEDICINE BEFORE HOLY COMMUNION

Question 1: Can we say that only grave necessity will justify a person in taking medicine before Holy Communion?

Question 2: May cough drops be permitted up to the time of Holy Communion in the case of one who is troubled with a persistent cough?

Question 3: Would a priest ever be justified in telling a person who consults him concerning the right to receive Holy Communion after taking medicine that in this particular instance he may receive the Holy Eucharist but that in future he must regard himself as not permitted to make use of the privilege in similar circumstances?

Answer 1: The Apostolic Constitution "Christus Dominus" of January 6, 1953, decreed that "the sick, even though not confined to bed, with the prudent advice of a confessor can take something by way of drink or of true medicine, excepting alcoholic beverages." The Commentary of the Holy Office which accompanied this Constitution asserted that this privilege can be used by the sick "if by reason of their sickness they are unable to observe the complete fast until the reception of Holy Communion *without grave inconvenience.*" The law now in vogue since the *Motu proprio* "Sacram communionem" of Pope Pius XII (March 19, 1957) omits the clause requiring the permission of a confessor, thus leaving it to the discretion of the sick person, whether he be priest or lay person, to judge whether or not he may use the privilege. What is still more important, as far as this question is concerned, the commentary of Cardinal Ottaviani, pro-Secretary of the Holy Office, which accompanied the *Motu proprio,* says nothing about the need of a grave inconvenience to justify the use of the privilege. I believe, therefore, that it is the mind of the Holy See to grant this privilege to any person who, because of some form of ailment finds it somewhat inconvenient (though not necessarily gravely inconvenient) to observe the ordinary rules of the eucharistic fast. This was the view upheld by Fr. Moise Roy, S.S.S., in *Emmanuel* for June, 1957: "The term 'sick' must be understood in a wide enough sense and does not suppose grave illness. The sick comprise, not only those who are bedridden or confined to their homes, but also the aged whom old age has debilitated and those suffering a serious

indisposition, even though a passing one, as, for example, a splitting headache, indigestion, a bad cold, a hacking cough."

Answer 2: I believe that this question can be answered unhesitatingly in the affirmative and that it provides a good application of the interpretation of the law given in the preceding answer. For example, a priest who has to preach at his Mass and is troubled with a severe cough can take a cough drop before Mass. It should be noted, however, that he should remove or swallow the cough drop before beginning Mass, since a priest is permitted to take medicine or liquid nourishment only up to the time of Mass.

Answer 3: I do not believe that the priest is sufficiently consistent in his solution. Either a person has fulfilled the requirements for receiving Holy Communion or he has not. If he has fulfilled the conditions, he may receive Holy Communion both now and in future; if he has not fulfilled them, he may not receive the Blessed Eucharist either now or in future.

FORBIDDEN COMMUNICATION?

Question: In a certain large state there are fifteen Catholic colleges and seventeen Protestant colleges. The presidents of the Catholic colleges have been asked to form a Board of Education with the presidents of the Protestant colleges, the object being to discuss educational problems and also to raise funds for all the colleges. May the presidents of the Catholic colleges become members of such a board?

Answer: It would seem that *per se* there would be no forbidden communication contained in the project described by our questioner. In the first place, there are many educational problems that could be discussed by Catholic and Protestant educators together, without any compromise of religious principles on the part of the Catholics, such as academic standards for secular branches, courses in languages and literature and science, general disciplinary procedures, etc. Even direct encouragement of the religious program in a Protestant college might sometimes be justifiable on the score that at least the maintenance of some religious principles is better than the complete rejection of religion which is found in some of our secular colleges at the present day.

The problem of the joint raising of funds that will be used for both Catholic and Protestant colleges is a problem of material co-operation. It could be justified in certain circumstances, particularly when the distribution to Catholic colleges is perfectly fair. Moreover, as was noted above, there may be justification in contributing financially to some Protestant colleges in the United States today on the ground that if they go out of existence, the students will attend institutions of learning which will be much more harmful.

Such, I believe, can be regarded as the *per se* reply to the question. However, *per accidens* there can surely be circumstances in which the co-operation of Catholic college heads with those of non-Catholic colleges would be undesirable and wrong. Thus, if the Protestant colleges in the particular locality are bitterly anti-Catholic or if by supporting them Catholics would furnish them with Catholic students who would otherwise go to Catholic colleges, the co-operation described by the questioner would be forbidden. In any event, it would be the proper procedure for the presidents of the Catholic colleges to consult the local Bishops before forming a Board of Education with the heads of non-Catholic colleges.

FRANCIS J. CONNELL, C.SS.R.

Book Reviews

THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF JESUS CHRIST. By Jules Lebreton, S.J. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957. Pp. xxxii + 464. $7.00.

Father Jules Lebreton has long held an international reputation as one of the greatest living scholars on his subject. He is Professor of Sacred Scripture at the Catholic Institute in Paris, and has served as one of the authors of *The History of the Primitive Church. The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ* was first published in two volumes in 1935 and later appeared in a one-volume edition. As the author himself states this work is the fruit of ten years of teaching at the Institute. His students were for the most part Catholics or at least Christians and they looked to him, not for an apologetic treatment for which their faith had no need, but rather for an historical study of the life of Christ.

It is with the viewpoint of the student in mind that the author has developed this work. It should be noted that many of the contemporary Protestant theologians have contended that the gospels are merely liturgical fragments with no chronological connection at all; that they are mere detached readings vaguely introduced by the indeterminate phrase *in illo tempore*. For them it is a waste of time to seek any real connection between the events related in the gospels and useless to try to discover any real sequence of ideas or facts. Some of these theologians would admit that the reality of the facts may exist, but no attempt should be made to weave these facts into history or to reconstruct a life of Christ.

The author is in complete opposition to these theories and has vigorously denied their validity. With wonderful clarity he points out that the object of the writers of the gospels was not to satisfy the curiosity of the readers but to kindle faith in them. That was the purpose of the catechetical system of the primitive church on which the story of the written gospel is based, and it was that motive that determined their character as well as the character of the primitive church. This fact has never been lost sight of by Catholic theologians, although it has often been misunderstood by Protestants. The testimony of the gospels is a collective testimony. Not isolated individuals, but the whole band of apostles recount the life and the teachings of the Master.

In the public life of Christ, the whole of which took place under the eyes of the apostles, certain facts stand out in a more prominent way than do others, and these are naturally selected as subjects of testimony. First among these are the Passion and the Resurrection. Included also in the group of more pertinent facts are elements such as the Sermon on the Mount and the Transfiguration. These are the prominent features of the gospel accounts of the life of Christ. It must always be the conviction of those reading the gospels that the religious character is essential. The gospels are the *good news* of salvation and the whole tendency of the gospel accounts of the life of Christ is to place in the forefront the person, the teachings and the redemptive work of the Redeemer.

There is no claim by the author that the gospels remove all chronological obscurity in the events in the life of Christ, but rather he admits that some obscurity will always remain. Nevertheless, by careful comparison of the texts of the different authors of the gospels, there can be deduced an approximation of times which is most reasonable and cogent. Father Lebreton has used the gospel narrative and profane history to clarify many of the hidden elements in the chronology of the life of Christ. He has succeeded well. The work he has produced is not a commentary on the gospels as a whole, but rather an interpretation of the text in the light of history. This has resulted in a clear and concise sequence of events. There are gaps in the life of Christ and no one was more aware of these dichotomies in the narrative than the evangelists who wrote the gospels. But their purpose must be kept in mind. They wanted to instruct, not to satisfy curiosity. Even St. John felt compelled to express the fact that the world would not be large enough to hold all the books should every event in the life of Christ be written.

This book can well be called one of the masterpieces of a Christocentic history. The dates, as far as it is possible to determine, are given for the birth, public ministry, death and resurrection of Christ. Each event considered in the gospel accounts is treated and each rejoices in comparison with other similar texts. With deft insight the author arrives at logical conclusions. The style and the choice of words are simple. Replete with references and biblical texts this scholarly work is none the less easy to read. There is no attempt to relate Palestinian history or geography except as these have a bearing on the texts and events mentioned in the gospels. An added feature is the multitude of references directing the reader to more extensive and comprehensive treatments of archeological data. The footnotes are numerous and extensive throughout the book. The

author has made liberal use of the works of others and each authority is heard on every point. The various interpretations of different passages and opinions on chronological matters appear in well documented detail on every page.

The reader will be struck by the intimate revelation of each of the participants in the life of Christ; the warm, human, flesh and blood aspect that is revealed from the gospel texts. It is this element that makes this book one of the most interesting and profitable on the subject. This view is in rigorous opposition to those who have revealed Christ and the figures described by the evangelists as cold facts and more than human instruments of the Redeemer. The reader will be aware of a growing fascination as he peruses the book, and at the finish, while not having all that is mysterious removed, he will be cognizant of a new knowledge and a greater appreciation for the Savior and the immensity of His work.

JOHN F. NEVINS

THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM. By André Parrot. Translated by B. E. Hooke. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. Pp. 112. $2.75.

A translation from the French *Le Temple de Jérusalem* (*not* from *Ninive et la Bible* as is incorrectly stated in the 1955 English edition), this compendious study has many qualities to commend itself to the Scripture student and to the general reader, the chief of these being simply that it gathers together in one small, inexpensive volume most of the pertinent facts about the buildings which have occupied the site. For the title, *The Temple of Jerusalem,* is a bit misleading; actually the book tells about four temples and one mosque—i.e., about the important structures which have occupied the site of Ornan's threshing floor from the day David purchased it until the present, when a Moslem mosque stands upon it. These structures are discussed in five chapters: The Temple of Solomon, The Temple of Ezechiel (which, of course, never existed except in the prophet's vision), The Second Temple (i.e., the modest edifice of the postexilic Restoration), Herod's Temple, and The Haram esh-Sherif. As we would expect, the lion's share goes to Solomon's Temple, forty-five pages being devoted to a description of it and the problems connected with it. The author minutely describes the three sections of the Temple and its furnishings, and then the court about it with the items contained therein. Because the site has never been excavated by modern archeological methods, information must come from Scripture and from what we know of the customs of

Israel and their neighbors from Archeology and ancient literature. Here the information is presented clearly and the parallels with and dependence upon Syro-Phoenician prototypes in the design of the Temple, its decorations and furnishings are clearly shown; these similarities do not surprise us, for the Bible itself relates that Solomon imported a Tyrian architect as well as many Tyrian workmen. The explanations are rendered still clearer by many illustrations. The author's views on the relationship between the Tabernacle and its furnishings and the Temple and its furnishings would have been welcome, but of this he says nothing.

This book is the fifth in a series entitled "Studies in Biblical Archeology" (*Cahiers d'Archéology Biblique*), most of which have been written by the author of the present work. M. Parrot, a non-Catholic, is widely recognized as a competent archeologist, and has the happy knack of being able to present semi-technical works (in addition to his more serious articles) in a very readable style; this readableness is not lost in Miss Hooke's translation.

M. Parrot is less critical than he might be in the use of data from biblical texts. For instance, many scholars believe that the number of a thousand for the wives of Solomon, reported in 1 Kgs 11, 3 (not in 1 Kgs 9, 3, the reference given in note 2, page 190), is an exaggeration, and thus it is not clear that he is justified in concluding from this text to the relative size of the palace—which, furthermore, was built near the beginning of his reign, when he could hardly have known how many wives to plan on. Further, there are many exegetes who would not agree that "there would be no difficulty" in regard to the date of the building of the Temple if we knew the exact date of the Exodus (page 21).

Whatever may be said of such debatable matters, all should be grateful for those items which a purely scientific zeal would not have prompted him to include, such as the section of Chapter IV where he takes pains to point out just where certain events in the life of our Lord took place within the precincts of Herod's Temple.

JOSEPH JENSEN, O.S.B.

SAINT ANTHONY CLARET MODERN PROPHET AND HEALER. By Fanchón Royer. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957. Pp. xv + 302. $4.00.

Saint Anthony Claret is the heavenly protector against cancer, and the title to this book names him a Modern Prophet and Healer. But

the cures which he performed and his prophecies constitute a minor part of this missionary's many-faceted life.

A glance at the table of contents immediately impresses on the reader the fact that Anthony Claret lived his life to the full. First a textile manufacturer's son with the ambition to attain the stature of Spain's very finest fabric designer. Then a seminarian who temporarily hurt his health by over-zealousness in study. A priest with so much work that only two hours each night were left for sleep. A preacher who was a St. Paul; a confessor who was a Curé of Ars. Then an author who stole time from sleep to do his writing. The founder of a missionary society of priests. The Archbishop of Santiago de Cuba, the first Archbishop of Santiago to visit his whole diocese (and he did it four times). Back to Spain to be the queen's confessor. Finally a saint dying in exile.

These events are narrated by Fanchón Royer in the same vivid style which characterized her previous book *Padre Pro*. As the bibliography shows, Mrs. Royer, again in this book, has made every effort to examine the available sources of St. Anthony's life.

The chapters which relive Anthony Claret's years as Archbishop of Santiago are the best in the book. Here at close range we see a saint working in a diocese which needed a saint. The previous archbishop had considered the spiritual state of Santiago so far beyond help that he had not even visited it for more than twelve years. Archbishop Claret, recognizing at least the good will of the people who welcomed him, set out to re-Christianize the clergy, the laity, and the culture.

The last chapter is entitled "The Saint." I think it is the weakness of the book that Mrs. Royer has made every event of Anthony's life conform to that title. We do not see Anthony grow in holiness. Some episodes which might provide an insight into the saint's struggles are merely alluded to. Some events are needlessly attributed to divine intervention. At one time Anthony Claret had more-or-less decided to become a Carthusian. He never reached the monastery. Caught in a rainstorm on the way, he decided to turn back. What appears to be merely the indecision of a not fully matured mind is given the aura of a supernatural sign.

This is a book to be read quickly. But the reading will leave you with an appreciation for this saint who could not do nor suffer enough for Christ; whose characteristic words were "What more . . .?"

Robert A. Mize, C.S.P.

TOWARD THE SUMMIT. By Raymond Leopold Bruckberger, Dominican. Translated by Sister M. Camille, O.S.F., and Alastair Guinan. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1956. Pp. 160. $2.75.

Anyone who is acquainted with the writing of Fr. Bruckberger will know that he has a rare talent for putting old truths in a vivid and striking manner. This translation of three French works of Fr. Bruckberger is no exception.

The first section combines the traditional philosophical approach to God with an existential approach. In this section Fr. Bruckberger shows his originality in presentation to the fullest. He presents the usual Thomistic philosophical-theological distinctions regarding God, but in a form which eliminates the terminology of the professional scholar almost completely. Blended with this is an existential approach which makes God a living reality, not an abstraction. Anyone trying to present the Christian idea of God to others could gain much from this section.

The second section deals with prayer and the spiritual life—the means of union with God.

The final section considers the correct idea of sanctity and the role of the saint in this life. There are some good insights in this section on what a saint should be in this modern world.

Unfortunately sections one and two contain no footnotes so it is impossible to know the sources of the many aptly used quotations. The book as a whole, however, is good. It provides solid reading matter in a popular style.

J. JUSTIN MCCORMICK, C.S.P.

LETTERS OF JOHN HENRY NEWMAN. Edited by Derek Stanford and Muriel Spark. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1957. Pp. 251. $4.00.

Newman himself was of the conviction that "The true life of a man is in his letters." This apparently evident fact has, at times, been overlooked by many readers of Newman. For many lovers of Newman, his *Apologia* has been considered autobiography enough and they have rested satisfied with that. But it should be pointed out that the *Apologia* was written not as an autobiography but as an *ad hoc* reference. It may be argued that much of Newman's autobiography is contained in the *Apologia* but the fact remains

that it probably was not his intention to submit an autobiography as such in that work. To learn then of his autobiography it seems most reasonable to turn to his letters as the source from which his life as he saw it may be best known. With these views in mind the reader of his letters will find Newman a figure more worthy of sympathy and a man appearing even a little bewildered at times. For it is in these sources that Newman, the man in search of himself, appears in a startling light.

The letters of John Henry Cardinal Newman have been presented in other works and at various times, but this is the first in recent times that the letters of this giant of literature and master of prose have been presented in one volume portraying his life both before and after his conversion to the Catholic Church. His life is neatly divided into two parts. The letters prior to his conversion offer an insight into the man which is difficult to acquire from any other of his works.

During the first period of his life when he was a member of the Anglican church his letters are filled with the earnestness of his character. He was a perfectionist, but his ideas of how to attain perfection in many things underwent changes throughout the years. In this do his letters evidence the workings of his mind, the turmoil, the twistings and self contradictions of these efforts to reach the truth. He is in turn enthusiastic and aggressive and then full of pathos and even self pity. "God intends me to be lonely" he tells his sister. In his letters to Mrs. William Froude, later to become a Catholic herself, there is the surest evidence of his dissatisfaction with the Church of England. In truth, it is in his letters that the man is known. For Newman in his letters is seen in all the vagaries of his character; his vacillation before his determination was solidified; his suffering in his decision—all are revealed as never before.

It is difficult to know his character completely from his letters, for as might be evident in any man's correspondence, there are many aspects of his character which seem at first to be contradictory. And indeed there are contradictions, but it is from these very opposites apparent in his character that the true nature of the man may be known. That which is most apparent is that for which Newman is most honored, the impressive Ciceronian prose. But more than this is revealed. For here are the traces of the poet, the preacher, the writer, and the convert.

This book presents an intimate glimpse into the life and the struggles of a man whose place in literature and in history will remain one of the pinnacles. So long a Catholic without knowing it,